THEODORE ROOSEVELT'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF CIVIC EDUCATION.

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INTRODUCTION.

The purpose of this paper is, first, to present Theodore Roosevelt's theory of citizenship; second, to consider Theodore Roosevelt as an active citizen; and third, to set forth the values that may be deduced from his life and works in order that they may be used in civic education.

In Part I. an attempt is made to answer the question, What did Roosevelt think about citizenship? In Part II. an attempt is made to point out how Theodore Roosevelt conducted himself as a citizen, and to answer the question, did he practice what he preached, if so how? In Part III, the aim is to point out what educational uses can be made of Theodore Roosevelt's contribution to the theory and practice of civic education.

PART I.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT'S CONCEPTION OF AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP.

CHAPTER I.

Requisites for Citizenship.

In following Roosevelt's career we find the task of obtaining his interpretation of citizenship is not so difficult for he belonged, like Lowell, to the class of men whom we may term 'once born'. He put his whole being without fear or insincerity into all he wrote and did; and so we have but to read his letters, addresses, books, and follow his public life to find that they all tell the same story, show how strongly he felt himself a citizen and discloses his convictions as to the duties and rights of citizenship.[1]

There is but one way by which men and women can be brought to the realization of the essential truths of a common brotherhood of man. Education furnishes the way and makes possible the realization of the highest and best concepts of man's obligation to man and to God. The following is the view point emphasized by Roosevelt. "We can not afford to lose sight finally of the fact that in a republic like ours healthy civic

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1. Cf. Lange, A. F., Lowell's Conception of Citizenship. University Chronicle 7: 1904-5, p. 108.

life must be based upon the rule of conduct which is admitted to be the binding rule in every church worth the name— that rule of remembering that each is his brothers' keeper. Each must not only do his duty, but each must do in a spirit of genuine sympathy, of feeling for the other, of trying to put himself or herself in that other's place and trying therefore to help that other.[1] "Let us realize that in every truth we are knit together in ties of brotherhood, and that while it is proper and necessary that we should insist upon our rights we should yet be patient and considerate in bearing with one another, and in trying, so far as in us lies, each to look at the problems that face us from his brother's standpoint as well as from his own."[2] The reading of the Bible amounts to naught if the brotherhood lesson is not put into practice as well as read for "we must each of us strive so to conduct our lives as to be, to a certain extent at least, our brother's keeper. We must show that we actually do take into our own souls the teachings which we read and be doers as well as hearers."[3] Roosevelt points with pride to the men of the Grand Army and says that they left us "the most splendid example of what brotherhood really means, they showed in a practical way

Brotherhood

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1. To New Jersey Association of Congregational Ministers, 1906
2. At Georgia State Building Jamestown Exposition, June 10, 1907.
3. Bible and the Life of the People, Outlook, May 27, 1911.

that the only safety in our American life lies in spurning the accidental distinctions which sunder one man from another, and in paying homage to each man only because of what he essentially is; in stripping off the husks of occupation, of accident until the soul stands revealed, and we know man only because of his worth as a man."[1] To the same point he says, "The general and the man from the rank honor one another by the highest type either knows- comrade - This applies in civil life no less than military life if we are to work out, aright the problems that face the Republic."[2] He says that we must in our lives, in our efforts, endeavor to further the cause of brotherhood in the human family; but must do it in such a way that those who are ever ready to find a subject for complaint may not find it by pointing out any contrast between our professions and our lives.

Roosevelt believes with Lincoln and Lowell that man, rather than institutions and forms of government, is the primary object of interest and concern. He says: "The true object of government has been happily defined as the effort to accomplish a general distribution of welfare. The true object of democracy should be to guarantee to each man his rights, with the purpose that each man shall thereby be enabled better to do

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1. At Antietam, Maryland, September 17, 1903.
2. Speech of Roosevelt's at the Reunion of the Department of Potomac, G. A. R. Washington, D. C. February 19, 1902.

his duty. Government is a failure, no matter how well it preserves law and order if it results only in securing to a few people an enormously disproportional share of power and material well being, while the conditions for the great mass of men are such as to forbid them achieving success by hard, honest, intelligent work. Similarly democracy means failure if it merely substitutes a big privileged class and if that big privileged class desires nothing more than selfish material enjoyment. The man who receives what he does not earn and does not render service in full for all he has, is out of place in a democratic country."[1] He believed that a democratic government equalizes freedom of action among the people so that groups of interests can cooperate with each other for the common good of all. It is to the benefit of one industry that other industries succeed in order that mutual exchange of products take place, the cities supply the farms with products of manufacture and the farms in turn supply the cities with food and raw material. Government fosters the spirit that each citizen chooses to do right, namely, to take the influence of his action upon his neighbor into account.

The object of government

No government can function properly unless the people have adequate freedom and liberty of action. Self-government

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1. Nationalism and Democracy, Outlook, 97; 622-5 March 25,1911.

has come to the people of this nation as an inheritance of ages of effort and it can be thrown away or unlearned very easily, depending upon the unselfish support of the people themselves. Roosevelt says: "Self-government is not an easy thing ..... we have been able to preserve orderly liberty and strength to grow in greatness among the nations of the earth, while becoming steadily more and more democratic in the truest and broadest sense of the word. I believe with all my heart that we shall continue on the path marked out for us; but we shall so continue only if we remember that in the last analysis the safety of the Republic depends upon the high average of individual citizenship."[1]

Freedom and Liberty

There is no one point made more emphatic throughout Roosevelt's writings than that no country can be free as long as it has the point of view that government is the business of a particular class of men. "No republic can permanently exist when it becomes a republic of classes where the man feels not the interest of the whole people, but the interests of the particular class to which he belongs or fancies he belongs, as being of prime importance ..... We can keep this Republic true to the principles of those who founded it, and of those who afterwards preserved it, we can keep this Republic at all only by remembering that we must live up to the theory of its founders

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1. Remarks at the St. Patricks Church, Washington, D. C. Nov. 20, 1902.

to the theory of treating each man on his worth as a man; neither holding it for nor against him that he occupies any particular station in life, so long as he does his duty fairly and well by his fellows, by the nation as a whole."[1] Roosevelt insists that the citizens of the Republic keep ever in mind that there is no such thing in a democracy as a particular class or group as distinguished from the mass who are especially fitted to take care of the great body of people; freedom exists only when the whole people take care of the government. "It is absolutely necessary that the people as a whole should have complete control of the instrumentalities of government, for only by obtaining and retaining such control can we work out the genuine principle of democracy on this continent."[2] Roosevelt makes it unmistakable that the right of liberty belongs to the individual. It is an individual right, not a communal right. "Every man must be guaranteed his right to do as he likes with his property or his labor, so long as he does not infringe the rights of others."[3] Roosevelt points out plainly the absurdity of thinking that freedom is a gift which goes without assuming the responsibility of using it right. Freedom that is worth something is the freedom which means self-government. It

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1. Remarks at the St.Patrick Church,Washington D.C. Nov.20,1904.
2. Nationalism and Democracy, Outlook, 97: 622-5, March 25,1911.
3. Message of the President of the U.S. communicated to the two Houses of Congress at the Beginning of the Second Session of the Fifty-eighth Congress.

is a constructive force which gives the intelligent and good man the best opportunity to do better things. If it substitutes self-restraint for external restraint; thus it substitutes a form of restraint which promotes progress for a form which retards it. "Unless our average citizenship is based upon a good deal more than the mere observance of the laws on the statue books- that, of course, preliminary— that, of course, is the beginning, but unless it is based on more than that then our average citizenship can never produce the kind of government which it must and will produce. So far from liberty, from freedom, from responsible self-government, being things that come easily and to any people, they are peculiarly things that can come only to the highly developed people. Only people capable, not merely of mastering others, but of mastering themselves, can achieve real liberty, can achieve real self-government, and for that self-mastery, for the cultivation of the spirit of self-restraint which is but another side of the spirit of self-reliance, we must rely to no small degree upon those who furnis us much of the thought of the great bulk of those who think most"[1]

Freedom can stay only with people who have the habit of self mastery. "Each can use his freedom to advantage only provided that he can master himself, that he can control his own passions and direct his own faculties. Every man must have a

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1. Remarks at the Dinner of the Periodical Pub. Assn. of America. The New Willard, Washington D.C. Apr,7,1904.

master, if he is not his own master somebody else will be."[1] While each one must hold his own against outsiders at times, it is of greatest importance that he be on guard against himself. "The chief dangers to each man dwels within that man's own heart and brain; and what is true of each of us individually, is true of all of us in a mass. No man can do good work in the world for himself, for those whom he loves who are dependent upon him, or for the state at large unless he has the great virtue of self-mastery."[2]

The free and equal development of all its citizens is the most precious thing the state has in its keeping.[3] Each person should be given the opportunity to show what is in him and to bring him to his best. This development is not for the sake of the individual alone, but also for the contribution which his skill and personality will bring to society. The man who serves the community greatly should be greatly rewarded by the community, so while equality of opportunity should be carefully guarded, where there is inequality of service there should be also inequality of reward. Roosevelt speaking to the point on this matter says, "When we speak of liberty, when we praise it, let us try to see that in actual practice we achieve it. When we speak of

Equal Opportunity

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1. At Keokuk, Iowa, Oct. 1, 1907.
2. Nationalism and Democracy, Outlook 97; 622-5, Mar.25,1911.
3. Cf. Lange, A. F. Lowell's Conception of Citizenship, p.109.

fraternity, of brotherhood, let us exercise each for himself the qualities that make for brotherhood, for fraternity. When we speak of equality, let us try to realize it in the spirit of Abraham Lincoln, who pointed out that there was, of course, a certain sense in which men are not, and can not be equal; but who realized by his life and his duties the profound truth that in the larger sense, in the real, the all- important sense there can and must be an equality among all men. This equality we, of the American Republic, must seek to secure among our fellow citizens. It is an equality of right before the law; a measurable equality of opportunity, so far as we can secure it for each man to do the best that is in him without harming his fellows, and without hinderance from his fellows, and finally, and most important, it is the equality which we should prize above all else, the equality of self-respect and of mutual respect among each and all our citizens."[1] Hence there should be no compromise with monopoly. The government should exercise control over anything which is incompatible with equality of opportunity.

The initial value of the individual stands far above industrial systems, and the nation must realize that its greatest work lies in the use of material interests for the development of the highest possibilities of manhood. The labor

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1. Address to School Children of U. S. April 15, 1907.

problem is not merely an economic but also a human and a moral problem. Any deterioration of labor conditions means wholesale sacrifice of human lives and human happiness. Material progress and prosperity are desirable chiefly so far as they lead to moral and material welfare of all citizens. Material prosperity must be considered merely as a foundation upon which to build the superstructure of higher citizenship. As Roosevelt says: "We are now in a condition of prosperity unparalleled not merely in our own history but in the history of any other nation. This prosperity is deep rooted and stands on a firm basis because it is due to the fact that the average American has in him the stuff out of which victors are made in the great individual contest of the present day, just as in the great military contests of the past, and because he is now able to use and develop his qualities to the best advantage under our well established economic system. We are winning headship among the nations of the world because our people are able to keep their high average of individual citizenship and to show their mastery of the hard, complex, pushing life of the age. There will be fluctuations from time to time in our prosperity, but it will continue to grow just so long as we keep up this high average of individual citizenship, permit it to work out its own salvation under proper economic legislation."[1]

Value of the Individual

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1. At Mineapolis, Minn., April 4, 1903.

Roosevelt had too much common sense not to know that the chief factor in winning success for the state and for the people in the state, must be the character of the individual man, of the individual woman. "It is all essential for our people ever to keep in their minds the fact that though national resources can do a great deal, though the law can do a good deal, the fundamental requisite in building up prosperity and civilization is the requisite of individual character in the individual man or woman."[1] Character counts far more than intellect or physical prowess in winning success in life. "It is a good thing to have a sound body, and a better thing to have a sound mind; and better still to have that aggregate of virile and decent qualities which we group together under the name of character."[2] The building of character is the first essential toward the achievement of good civilization. It must accompany each talent or the possesor of the talent is a menace to the community.

Value of Character

Roosevelt gives suggestions as to the development of a well rounded character which it would be well for every citizen to adhere to. "Insistence upon self-respect, insistence upon others showing unselfishness also, as a corollary to your first duty of yourself showing unselfishness and self-abnegation, you

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1. Address at Salt Lake, Utah, Aug. 16, 1903.
2. Roosevelt Doctrine, Garrison, Page 40.

will develop a well rounded character and capacity to do good such as you can not possibly develop in any other fashion."....."In developing character, remember that while you need to develop the negative virtues, the virtues that make you easy to live with, that make you not actually do anything wrong to any one else, yet those virtues are not enough. The ordinary qualities that a man needs to display are not the ordinary qualities that a woman needs to display; but in the great crises, in the times of great stress, each must show the traits that he or she prizes in the other. The man must have in him a fund of sweetness and usefulness; and the woman must have in her the courage and the strength that she will surely need if she is to do her duty aright in life under the trials that will surely befall us as we do our way thru the world."[1]

Roosevelt's idea of development of character

The object of government is to serve the interests of the many, the sum of individual citizens. This government, like all governments, is subject to human improvement by the practical application of Christianity.[2] By citizens following the highest public standard of conduct, not merely on Sunday, but at home and in business. If the mass of citizens adhere honestly and uprightly

Value of Christian ideals

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1 The Commencement of the National Cathedral School, Wash.D.C. June 6, 1906.
2. Cf. Lange, A. F. Lowell's Conception of Citizenship. p. 11.

to the fundamental laws of private and public morality it will count more for the Republic than special genius or universal brilliancy. In speaking of Christianity applied, Roosevelt says, "We need civic righteousness. The best constitution that the wit of man ever devised, the best institution that the ablest statesman has ever reduced to practice by law or by custom, all these shall be of no avail if they are not vivified by the spirit which makes a state great by making its citizens honest, just and brave."[1]

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1. At the Pan-American Missionary Service, Mt St. Albon, Washington D. C., Oct. 25, 1903.

CHAPTER II.

Necessary Attitudes for Citizenship.

Roosevelt was an ardent supporter of the political faith on which our nation is built. He was conscious of the fact that democracy is more or less an experiment and realized the dangers that beset it, but his heart and mind were with the cause because he had faith in the average man. "The noblest of all forms of government is self-government; but it is also the most difficult"[1] ..... "I believe in the future of the American people because I believe that fundamentally and at heart the average man and the average woman of America are sound, that however deep they may at times err, yet they have

His faith in democracy.

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1. Message communicated to the Two Houses of Congress, December 5, 1905.

in them fundamentally, the power of self-mastery, the power of self-control, the power to live their lives in accordance with a high and fine ideal, to do strict justice to others, and to insist upon their rights only as a vantage-point for the better performance of their duties."[1] But Roosevelt not only believed with all his heart in real and thoroughgoing democracy but he wished to make this democracy industrial as well as political, and thus reduce theory to practical conditions of living. He says;"Democracy cannot possibly be achieved save among a people fit for democracy. There can be no real political democracy unless there is something approaching an economical democracy. A democracy must consist of men who are intellectually, morally, and materially fit to be their own masters. There can be neither political nor industrial democracy unless people are reasonably well-to-do, and also reasonably able to achieve the difficult task of mastery."[2]

Democracy will not solve all political problems and conflicts but, as Dr. Lange has said, "its subetance is common thinking, feeling, and willing of its citizens."[3] The first condition for its success is the rise and progress of a national spirit. "We shall never be successful over dangers that confront

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1. Nationalism and Democracy, Outlook, 97; 622-5, Dec. 5, 1905.
2. Two noteworthy books on Democracy, Outlook, 108; 648-5, 1914.
3. Lange, A. F., Lowell's Conception of Citizenship, p.112.

us; we shall never achieve true greatness, nor reach the lofty ideal which founders and preservers of our mighty federal Republic have set before us, unless we are Americans in heart and soul, in spirit and in purpose, keenly alive to the responsibilities implied in the very name of American, proud beyond measure of the glorious privilege of bearing it."[1] Americamism is a question of spirit, conviction and purpose, not a matter of birthplace, of ancestry, of creed or occupation. The man who can do the most in this country is the man whose Americanism is most sincere and intense.

Roosevelt's view of group life

When thinking of the nation Roosevelt seems to consider it as one big family, whose members each contribute to the life of the whole, each share in various degrees, the motives, sympathies, ideas, desires, and acts of will, common to all. Hence he rejoiced over movements which tend to bind the family closer together so as to secure a better understanding among its members.[2] "It seems to me that the Y. M. C. A. plays a part of great consequence, not merely because of the great good they do in themselves but because of the great lesson of brotherhood that they teach all of us. All of us here are knit together by bonds which we cannot

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1. American Ideals, p. 16
2. Cf. Lange, A. F. Lowell's Conception of Citizenship, p.113.

sever. For weal or for woe our fates are inextricably intermingled. All of us in our present civilization are dependent upon one another to a degree never before known in the history of mankind, and in the long run we are going to go up or to go down together. For a moment some man may rise up trampling on his fellows, for a moment and much more commonly, some men may think they will rise or gratify their evil and hatred by putting down others. But only such moments upward is probably illusory, and is certainly short lived. Any permanent movement upward must come in such a shape that all of us feel the lift a little, and if there is a tendency downward all of us will feel that tendency too, we must if we are to rise ourselves realize that each of us in the long run can certainly be raised only if the conditions are such that all of us are somewhat raised. In order to bring about these conditions the first essential is that each shall have a genuine spirit of regard and friendship for others and that each of us shall try to look at the problems of life somewhat from the neighbors standpoint, that we shall have the capacity to understand one anothers position, one anothers needs, and also the desire each to help his brother as well as to help himself."[1]

Topeka, Kansas, May 1, 1903.

Roosevelt, like Lowell, had a practical mind. He was not given to substituting vague abstractions for full-grown facts. When speaking of the nation and national spirit he pointed out that a nation consisted of men and women, that national spirit in reality is the feeling of brotherliness each have for all, and all have for each. Patriotic loyaly is really loyalty to good citizenship, the showing of affection to one's neighbor as well to one's self. He realized too

His conception of the nation

that national consciousness has its foundation in local pride and love.[1] He cautions us to remember that we must not subordinate national consciousness to sectionalism. "In the first place we wish to be broadly American and national, as opposed to being local or sectional. We do not wish in politics, in literature, or in art to develop that unwholesome spirit, that over-exaltation of the little community at the expense of the great nation, which produces what has been described as the patriotism of the village, the patriotism of the belfry."[2]

Good citizenship begins at home. Most of us will never be in a position to show by heroic deeds our patriotism, our nation-spirit and loyalty but each can contribute all that within him lies to the progress, material, intellectual and moral of the

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1. Cf. Lange. A. F. Lowell's Conception of Citizenship, p.114-5.
2. American Ideals, p. 16.

small social group to which he happens to belong. As Roosevelt says. "It does not sound quite so inspiring to be asked to be a good citizen of the village, of the county, as it does to be asked to be a good citizen of the nation; but you can not be a good citizen of the nation if you are not, in the first place a good citizen among your own neighbors, above all remember that you can not be a good citizen of the town, or county if you are not a good citizen in your own home first."[1] In doing our own particular humdrum duties of every day life most of us can show our national spirit, under the guiding thought that patriotism is loyal public spirit, excluding narrow sectionalism and enlarged to include the thought that after all we are one people whether we live in the city or the country, in the East or in the West in the North or in the South, we are but one mighty whole, one indivisible country with the interest of all the citizens at heart.

What is good citizenship?

Patriotism in Roosevelt's conception is not a sudden outburst of emotion such as is so often manifested on the Fourth of July. "If a man who comes to the Fourth of July celebration goes home and conducts himself so that his wife and children wish beyond anything else that he never did come home, you can guarantee that man is a poor

His idea of patriotism

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1. At Oyster Bay, N. Y. July 4, 1906.

citizen".[1] True patriotism is a feeling which is real and strong, a feeling which should ever be present in the daily tasks and pursuits of every member of a community. Individual life lacks deeper meaning, remains undeveloped and dwarfed if there is not the feeling of patriotism, love of country and pride in the flag which symbolizes the country, the feeling which makes the citizen ready to live for as well as to die for his country.

The principle, all for each and each for all, is a necessary element in individual character as well as in good citizenship. While Roosevelt approves of it as a working motto, he warns us not to forget that the first requisite in accomplishing it is that each man should work for others by working for himself, in the development of his own capacity. "The first requisite of a good citizen in this Republic of ours is that he shall be able and willing to pull his own weight- that he shall not be a mere passenger, but shall do his share in the work each generation of us finds ready to hand, and furthermore that in doing his work he shall show not only the capacity for sturdy self-help and self-respecting regard for the rights of others".[2] If one has a foundation of self-help and self-service he can safely build

Each for all and all for each.

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1. At Oyster Bay, N. Y. July 4, 1906.
2. Address to Chamber of Commerce of State of N. Y. At N. Y. City, Nov. 11, 1902.

upon it the useful superstructure of service to his fellows, of service to the state, of service to the community as a whole.

Making a success of one's own work, attending well to one's own business also implies attending well to the affairs of the neighborhood and the nation. Taking part in politics is not merely a right, not merely a duty, but is demanded by one's own self-respect. "Each man should feel that he has no excuse, as a citizen in a democratic republic like ours, if he fails to do his part in the government. It is not merely his right to do so, but his duty, his duty both to himself and to the Nation. .... A man may neglect his political duties because he is too lazy, too selfish, too short-sighted, or too timid; but whatever the reason may be it is certainly an unworthy reason, and it shows either a weakness in a man's character or something worse".[1]

Duty of a citizen to participate.

Taking part in the government does not necessarily mean the holding of a public office, but it does mean that each citizen take an intelligent, disinterested, and practical part in the every day duties of the average citizen by seeing to it, as best he can, that there is a genuine equality of opportunity for all men so far as it can be brought about, and that there

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1. At the Harvard Union, Feb. 23, 1907.

is the right attitude of this nation toward other nations. The man who does his duty day in and day out in the small things as well as in the large things, is the man who is doing his duty to himself, to his neighbor, to the state, and to the nation. "A good citizen," Roosevelt says, "must be a good breadwinner, he must take care of his wife, and his children, he must be a neighbor whom his neighbors can trust, he must act squarely in his business relations, he must do all these duties first, or he is not a good citizen. But he must do more. In this country of ours the average citizen must devote a good deal of thought and time to the affairs of the State as a whole or those affairs will go backward, he must devote that thought and time steadily and intelligently".[1] Roosevelt never tires of repeating, "Back of laws, back of the administration, back of the system of government lies the man, lies the average manhood of our people, and in the long run we are going to go up or go down according as the average citizenship does or does not wax in growth and grace."[1]

The fundamental duty of good citizenship, then, consists in the cultivation of patriotism as a habit of thought and action. Thought must be transformed into action in order that progress may exist. To know and to act are the fundamentals which are

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1. At Symphony Hall, Boston, Aug. 25, 1902.

not always easy but which self-government requires. "A man is not a good citizen, I do not care how lofty his thoughts are about citizenship in the abstract, if in the concrete his actions do not bear him out, and it does not make much difference how high his asperations for mankind at large may be, if he does not behave well in his own family those aspirations will not bear visible fruit"[1].

Thought and action go together.

It is the duty of every American citizen to become familiar with our country's history, its governmental operations, and to act intelligently upon problems of local and national interest. To see to it that efficient schools are maintained for "the public schools are not merely educational centers for the mass of people, but they are the factories of American citizenship. Incidentally to its other work the public school does more than any other institution of any sort or description to Americanize the child of foreign born parents who come here when young, or is born here. Nothing counts so much in welding together into one compact mass of citizenship the different race stocks which here are being fused into a new nationality".

The influence of the school.

But not only must a real democracy see that the chance

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1. At Symphony Hall, Boston, Aug,25, 1902.
2. To the Board of Education of District of Columbia and others at the White House, Dec. 18, 1905.

for elementary education is open to every boy and girl, but also schools of the most advanced type so that there will be opportunity for developing leaders. "The education of the mass, while the most important problem in democratic education, is in no way or shape by and of itself sufficient. Democracy comes short of what it should be just to the extent that it fails to provide for the exceptional individual the highest kind of exceptional training, for democracy as a permanent world force must mean not only the raising of the general level but also the raising of the standard of excellence to which only exceptional individuals can attain. The table land must be raised, but the high peaks must not be leveled down; on the contrary they too must be raised."[1]

Leadership

It is impossible for government to operate without leadership. From those who have received a higher education a special quality is expected. In speaking of leaders Roosevelt says, "In order to succeed we need leaders of inspired idealism, leaders to whom are granted vision, who dream and strive to make their dreams come true, who can kindle the people with fire from their own burning souls, The leader of the time being whoever he may be, is but an instrument to be used until broken and then cast aside; and if he is worth his salt he will care no more when he is broken than

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1. Noteworthy project in higher education. Outlook 97,344-6, Feb. 18, 1911.

a soldier cares when he is sent where his life is forfeit in order that victory may be won".[1]

Nevertheless it remains true that no matter how great the leader he cam accomplish little unless he has the right kind of people to lead. No leader can improve our citizenship unless the average man has in him the capacity for such improvement. The man behind the ballot is the one who counts most in civil life and it depends upon the people whether this movement shall stand in the future as it has in the past.

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1. Right of the people to rule. Outlook, 100; March, 23, 1912.

CHAPTER III.

Practical Qualities of Citizenship.

Roosevelt would not have us follow the maxim "My country right or wrong", as it is frequently understood. To him it is not a favorite maxim.[1] He went to the core of things when he said, "When I speak of Americanism I do not for a minute mean to say that all things we do are all right. I think there are plenty of evils to correct and that often a man shows himself all the more a good American because he wants to cut out any evil of the body politic which may interfere with our approaching the ideal of true Americanism. But not only admitting but also emphasizing this, it yet remains true that throughout our history no one has been able to render a really great service to the country if he did not

Faith in the people.

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1. Cf. Lange, A. F., Lowell's Conception of Citizenship, p.118.

believe in the country".[1]

By the same high ethical standard he judged political parties, "a party is of worth only in so far as it promotes the national interest, and every official, high or low can serve his party best by rendering to the people the best service of which he is capable. Effective government comes only as the result of long co-operation".[2]

The best citizen is a practical man of high ideals, one who does his best to put those high ideals into actual practice.

Worth of ideals

In fact an ideal can not really be called high unless it is one that is, at least, partially realizable. Concerning this point Roosevelt says, "Be practical as well as generous in your ideals, keep your eyes upon the stars, but remember to keep your feet on the ground. ..... The salvation of our whole social system depends upon the production year by year of a sufficient number of citizens who possess high ideals combined with the practical power to realise them ..... In every walk of life, in business, politics if the need comes, in war, in everything, what we need is a sufficient number of men who can work well and who will work with a high ideal".[3]

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1. At Augusta, Maine, Aug. 26, 1902.
2. Address at Oyster Bay, N. Y. July 27, 1904.
3. Remarks Introducing Rev. C. Wagner, at the Lafayette Opera House, Wash. D. C. Nov. 22, 1904.

But knowledge and practical efficiency are not the only things for a citizen to acquire and demand. A man can not be a good citizen unless he is willing to work. The worst thing one can do as a citizen is to do nothing. The idle man is a detriment to the community. It is the duty of every American man and woman to work, regardless of the kind of employment so long as it is honorable, is necessary, and is done well. "We have no place in our scheme of government, no room for the man who does not wish to pay his way thru life by what he does for himself and the community. ..... Work, the capacity for work is absolutely necessary and no man's life is full, no man can be said to live in the true sense of the word if he does not work"[1]. The man who counts is one who has the force, the power, the will to accomplish results, but whose ideals are such that he works for something worth striving for.

Individual industry

One of the sterling qualities that counts for much is a sense of unadulterated honesty. Unless one can be trusted by his fellow man he is not a good citizen. He must possess the the quality of honesty, using the term in the broadest sense, in the sense of devoted, disinterested promotion of our national ideals of life. Speaking

Honesty

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1. At Topeka, Kansas, May 1, 1903

to the point Roosevelt says, "You must demand honesty or you are not men; and you must do honesty or you are not decent men."[1] Again he says, "On behalf of our people, on behalf no less of the honest man of means than the honest man who earns each days livelihood by the sweat of his brow, it is necessary to insist upon honesty, in all walks of life, in big things and in little things, upon just and fair dealing as between man and man."[2]

A very desirable citizen is one who has a sense of fair play and justice. One who while demanding justice for himself, is no less scrupulous to do justice to others. It is a safe doctrine for citizens to play fair and just, to give a little more than a square deal rather than less. Roosevelt never tired of pleading for square deal. Square deal— the word he himself coined because it expressed exactly what he meant, to let each man stand on his own merits, receive what is due him, and be judged according to his deeds. "We must treat each man on his worth and merits as a man. We must see that each is given a square deal, because he is entitled to no more, and should receive no less".[3]

The square deal or fair play

In order to have fair play each of us should have a genuine spirit of regard and friendship for others, understand

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1. Public Servantand his teachings.
2. Big Stick and Square Deal.
3. At the State Fair, N. Y. Sept. 7, 1903.

one another's position, one another's needs and have the desire to help each other. "I do not think a man is fit to do good work in our American democracy unless he is able to have a genuine fellow feeling for understanding and sympathy with his fellow American, whatever their creed or their birthplace, the section in which they live or the work they do provided they possess the only kind of Americanism that really counts the Americanism of spirit".[1] Again speaking for sociability he says, "I firmly believe in my countrymen and therefore I believe the chief thing necessary in order that they shall work together is that they shall know one another - that the Northerner shall know the Southerner and the man of one occupation know the man of another occupation; the man who works in one walk of life know the fellow who works in another walk of life, so that he may realize that the things which divide us are superficial, are unimportant, and that we are, and must ever be knit together into one indissouble mass by our American brotherhood".[2]

Sociability.

Fitness for companionship implies also a disposition to do teamwork for the common good. In our government, a man acts in combination with others if he wishes to accomplish anything.

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1. An Autobiography. Chap. III, p. 96.
2. To the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, Chattanooga, Tenn. Sept. 8, 1902.

This means, of course, that he subordinate his personal beliefs and personal prejudices to the judgment of his fellows. Not only must man work hard for his own benefit but at the same time manifest a disposition to do work in conjunction with others for a common good.

Teamwork

Roosevelt says, "There are times,of course, when it may be the highest duty of a citizen to stand alone, or practically alone. But if this is a man's normal attitude, if normally he is unable to work in combination with a considerate body of his fellows it is safe to set him down as unfit for useful service in a democracy. In popular government results worth having can be achieved only by men who combine worthy ideals with practical good sense; who are resolute to accomplish good purpose but who can accommodate themselves to the give and take necessary when work has to be done, by combinations".[1]

While tasks can be performed with better results by common effort it does not follow that individual initiative should be discouraged. Far from that it should be stimulated. "Facing the immense complexity of modern social and industrial conditions, there is need to use freely and unhesitatingly the collective power of all of us; and yet no exercise of collective power will ever avail if the average individual does not keep his or her sense of personal duty, initiative and responsibility".[2]

Initiative.

No republic can proceed toward its highest goal unless the average individual cultivates a sense of civic responsibility. Since a republic provides extraordinary privileges, the responsibility is correspondingly great. Too often the ordinary citizen, immersed in the tasks of caring for his business and providing for his family, gives little thought to civic problems. But sooner or later social progress urges his civic pride to act upon vital questions; such as playgrounds, parks, street cleaning, paving, the election of city, county, state and national officers, as well as many other civic problems which present themselves.

Responsibility.

Roosevelt remarks, "The average voter needs to learn to keep steadly in mind the fact that if in the last resort the real responsibility is his. He can not cast off on anyone else the responsibility for our governmental short comings".[1]

Conclusion.

Roosevelt in his direct, forceful way appeals to every citizen. He gives to them a code of behavior which we might term as the professional ethics of the citizen. He considers behavior as a profession which man can not escape. It depends entirely upon the citizen whether he practices it well, badly, or indifferently. His faith in the average man, his confidence in the people to overcome all tendencies which attempt to lower the standards

Ethical code

1. Navy Yard, Portsmouth, Va., May 30, 1906.

of citizenship caused him to urge organized effort toward that end.

Thru personal appeal, thru speech and active participation during his life time, Roosevelt came in touch with the large mass of the people. He made a contribution to democracy such as only the greatest Americans can give. What he contributed His influence will be felt far beyond his day. Those whom he helped and still helps to incorporate the ideas and ideals of the practice of good citizenship, will pass it on.

Thru the inspiration of his writings and personal example he led public opinion to a higher plane. By his enlightened patriotism he has made easier the process of developing an individual into the reality of citizenship.

Our forefathers gave us this republic in which each citizen is a ruler. Roosevelt thru his efforts helped to make each ruler better fit to perform his duties to the republic.

Essentials of citizenship.

The only way to perpetuate this progressive republic as handed down to us is to meet the requirements for good citizenship as pointed out by Roosevelt in the following: "We must possess the qualities which are indispensible in doing our duty in our homes, among our

neighbors, and in addition we must possess the qualities which are indispensible to the make up of every great and masterful nation-- the qualities of courage and hardihood, of individual initiative and yet the power to combine for a common end, and above all, the resolute determination to permit no man and no set of men to sunder us from the other by lines of cast or creed or section. We must act on the motto of all for each and each for all. There must be ever present in our minds the fundamental truth that in a republic such as ours the only safety is to stand neither for nor against any man because he is rich or because he is poor, because he is engaged in one occupation or another, because he works with his brain or with his hands. We must treat each man on his worth and merits as a man. We must see that each is given a square deal, because he is entitled to no more and should receive no less. Finally we must keep ever in mind that a republic such as ours can exist only by virtue of orderly liberty which come through the equal domination of law over all men alike, and through its administaration in such resolute and fearless fashion as shall teach all that no man is above it and no man is below it."[1]

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1. At the State Fair, New York, Sept. 7, 1903.

PART II.

INTRODUCTION.

Roosevelt's theory of civic education has been pointed out. Our purpose now is to examine the active life of Roosevelt to see how well he practiced the principles of democracy as set forth in his theory.

It is not our purpose to speak only of the praisworthy things he did, but to point to the mistakes and adverse criticisms that have come against him in public and private life as well.

PART II.

ROOSEVELT AS A CITIZEN.

CHAPTER I.

General Character of his Development.

Theodore Roosevelt was a preacher of preparedness not only in national life but in individual life. He considered it not only a privilege for an individual to prepare himself for a place in a democracy but also a duty. If man does not fit himself physically and mentally he can not contribute his full share to the unity of effort. Roosevelt believed in a strong body, well trained for the active pursuit of any work that becomes necessary to be done.

Early life

Nature gave to Roosevelt a puny body with poor eyes, but he made it his business to develop a strong body in order to be able to do work worth while when he became a man. To gain good health and a strong body was one of his longest and hardest fights. He had within him a conquering spirit and through faith and will power to overcome these difficulties he became strong like other boys.

By the time he entered Harvard he was ready to take part in whatever athletics he chose.

His first realization of his physical condition is stated in his autobiography as follows: "Having been a sickly boy, with no natural bodily prowess, and having lived much at home,, I was at first quite unable to hold my own when thrown into contact with other boys or rougher antecedents. I was nervous and timid. Yet from reading of the people I admired - ranging from the soldiers of Valley Forge, and Morgan's riflemen, to the heroes of my favorite stories - and from hearing of the feats performed by my Southern forefathers and kinsfolk, and from knowing my father, I felt a great admiration for men who were fearless and who could hold their own in the world, and I had a great desire to be like them. Until I was nearly fourteen I let this desire take no more definite shape than daydreams. Then an incident happened that did me great good. I was sent off by myself to Moosehead Lake. On the stage coach ride thither I encountered a couple of other boys who were about my own age, but who were much more competent and also much more mischievous. I have no doubt they were good-hearted boys, but they were boys. They found that I was a foreordained and predestined victim, and industriously proceeded to make life miserable

for me. The worst feature was that when I finally tried to fight them I discovered that either one singly could not only handle me with easy contempt, but handle me so as not to hurt me much and yet to prevent my doing any damage whatever in return.

The experience taught me what probably no amount of good advice could have taught me. I made up my mind that I must try to learn so that I would not again be put in such a helpless position; and having become quickly and bitterly conscious that I did not have the natural prowess to hold my own, I decided that I would try to supply its place by training. Accordingly, with my father's hearty approval, I started to learn to box. I was a painfully slow and awkward pupil, and certainly worked two or three years before I made any perceptible improvement whatever.[1]

While in college Roosevelt developed a well-rounded personality. He realized that a one-sided development could not produce a good citizen. He enjoyed every phase of college life physical and intellectual as well as social. It was there he cultivated the habit of concentration both in physical and mental development. He studied the best exercises for developing the entire body. He found that along with physical development mental power increased.

Early manhood

1. Autobiography, pp.32-33.

He won a Phi Beta Kappa "key" for his proficiency in scholarship along with his proficiency on the side of physical devolopment. Play was a part of college life and he enjoyed his part in it but he never regarded it as having an end within itself but as a means to an end.

Speaking of his college life in his autobiography he says, "I thoroughly enjoyed Harvard, and I am sure it did me good, but only in the general effect for there was very little in my actual studies which helped me in after life."[1] It was college life that helped him to find himself and that was its greatest service to him. Mrs. Robinson, his sister, says, "His college life broadened every interest and did for him what had hitherto not been done, which was to give him confidence in his relationship with young men of his own age. Up to that time, owing to delicacy of health, he had been somewhat of a recline, from the standpoint of relationship of boy to boy".[2]

After Roosevelt had developed his physical condition to the highest point he kept it there. When he was Governor of New York he regularly wrestled three or four time a week.

Later attitude toward physical development.

He kept up the practice after he became President until he received an injury in the left eye. A boxing mate once said of

1. Autobiography, p.16.
2. Quoted from Lewis' Life of Roosevelt. pp.25-6.

him, "Sometime he would let his enthusiasm run away with him and cause him to do a little more than his strength justified."[1] He played tennis diligently but was never an expert. He was a splendid horseman and usually spent a few hours out of every twenty-four in his favorite exercise.

Roosevelt was a great cross country walker. He retained his boyish way of going from one point to another by wading small streams and climbing over obstacles that might be in the way of approach. He did not take exercise as if he were doing it for health but rather for the fun of doing it. This attitude seems to have been beneficial in giving him splendid results.

The work and responsibility of the Presidency was considered enough to break down the strength of the stoutest man. Roosevelt was physically fit for the heavy burden. If he did have moments of discouragement and weary trials at times, they were soon thrown off and he was thoroughly enjoying himself. Every day of his seven and a half years there was a strenuous program to be carried out but he left the office with the same vigor and zest of life that he had when he entered the office.

Not only did he see to it that his own body was kept in the best condition but did all within his power to instill in his fellow citizens a realization of the need of a strong body as an instrument to be directed by the mind.

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1. Leslies, Oct. 22, 1921.

[illegible]

[illegible]

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In order to have good health it becomes necessary that sanitary conditions be favorable, therefore, Roosevelt took definite steps toward bettering living conditions. As President of the Police Force in New York he had a place on the Board of Health. He promptly made his influence felt for better living conditions by seizing a hundred or more wretched and crowded abodes of the poor. As a result the death rate was considerably lowered. In one neighborhood it fell from 39 to 16 in 1000. Later when he became Governor of New York he made a personal tour through the sweatshops of New York City and examined conditions at their worst. He dove into the dark alleys and went through the dingy halls of the slum districts, in order to stamp out hot beds of disease. He never tired of fight nor made any compromise with vice.

Sanitation

He started movements to improve conditions in tenement houses for he realized the need of healthy home life if children were expected to grow up fitted for the very exacting duties of American citizenship. After he became President he learned that meat packing was often carried on under filthy and unsanitary conditions. He proposed meat inspection, first, by attempting to get the cooperation of the corporations in establishing an inspection law but they would not join him and openly defied the establishment of such a law. He then

sent a secret report to Congress and aroused public opinion which compelled immediate enactment of a meat inspection law. He also advocated the Pure Food law and was again successful. Thus he contributed toward conditions which make for strong, healthy bodies. It was his philosophy that "bodily vigor is a method of getting that vigor of soul without which vigor of the body counts for nothing"[1].

Roosevelt realized that along with physical strength man needs courage. So he developed this stern virtue as he relates in his autobiography, "There were all kinds of things of which I was afraid at first, ranging from grizzly bears to "mean" horses and gun-fighters; but by acting as if I were not afraid I gradually ceased to be afraid"[2]. His

Courage.

experience backed up his theory that one who is easily influenced by fear can train himself to be more or less fearless if he but chooses to do so. He can school himself to think of fear as a thing to be overcome. Courage became a typical characteristic of Roosevelt. Whether he rode the range or hunted big game on the prairies and among the mountains, or chased bandits,he was ever the courageous leader. Time and again he showed his pugnacious courage. His book describing

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1. Autobiography, p. 57.
2. " p. 60.

his explorations in South America tells of the physical perils in which his life was placed. He had no sense of physical danger not even when his life was placed at greatest risk. While on his way to make a political address at the Milwaukee Auditorium, October 1912, he was shot. Every effort was made to induce him to receive medical aid at once and give up the speech but he refused because he thought it might be the last message he might ever be able to utter. He was criticised for hazarding his life for the sake of a political speech, but it was only an example of the self control and physical courage that belong- to Roosevelt.

Not only did he have physical courage but ever present and just as striking was his moral courage. The secret of his courage in the political world may be found in his belief that truth is more powerful than political machines or labor organizations or commercial trusts. He showed his political courage by securing a tax law which caused corporations to be taxed on their franchise in the same manner as private citizens are made to pay tax on their personal property. Believing that every citizen, regardless of whether he is a great capitalist or the humblest citizen, should be compelled to obey the law, he prosecuted the Beef Trust by bringing indictments against

some of Chicago's most prominent millionaires. This act showed that he believed moral principle is more powerful than either concentrated wealth or popular clamor. Another example of his moral courage is shown in the case where he sacrificed friendships and personal prestige in the Progressive Campaign in 1912. It was because he considered his action to be just and right that he took the stand. Concerning Roosevelt's courage President Harding said: "Here was a great and courageous American, who called the slumbering spirit of the Republic and made it American in fact as well as in name.

I say it after full deliberation and free from all inclinations which characterize hero-worship, I <u>believe Colonel Roosevelt to have been the most courageous American of all times</u>. He not only believed, he proclaimed and acted. He was not only American in his own heart and soul, but he believed every man who wore the habiliments should be an American in every heart beat, and commit himself to simple and unfailing Americanism"[1].

Along with courage is another important element, self control. If self control is not present then courage is dangerous to the welfare of society. Physical development and self control should go hand in hand. Roosevelt is an excellent

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1. Address delivered before the Ohio Legislature, Jan.29,1919.

example of the partnership of body and mind. He developed both to such an extent that one kept pace with the other. Roosevelt was a man of ardent impulses and often became very angry but for the most part reason controlled. His aim was to make passion his servant— always under control.

Selfcontrol.

Lyman Abbot said of him in 1912, "He is habitually self-controlled under provocation, and it is needless to say that his life always brings him at times strong provocations. He rarely defends himself, even to his friends; and attacks upon him usually he dismisses either with indifference or with a laugh, but even then he does not strike unless he is quite sure the blow will tell. He rides himself, as a sure rider rides a mettlesome steed; he has plenty of mettle but the steed is always well in hand.

"No man can control others unless he can control himself; and it is the combination of strong passions and self mastery which gives Mr. Roosevelt his commanding influence among strong men ..... One phase of his self control is his justice. He has staying power; he can wait. Rapid as is his movement of mind he knows how to moderate his speed and adjust his pace to those who are cooperating with him. He believes that patient waiting is no loss. This patient temper, the impatient

independent cannot understand but it enables Mr. Roosevelt to get along with the"machine" and make it serve the ends of a good government and so gives him a power that self-willed impetuosity would sacrifice. This patient temper enabled him to wait calmly for the psychological moment to propose to Russia and Japan negotiations for peace; an earlier proposal would have defeated itself. There is a time to act and a time to refrain from acting and Mr. Roosevelt has the power to refrain as well as act".[1]

Along with Roosevelt's strength, courage and self control was the spirit of gentleness. President Harding said, "The popular impression often had him domineering and insistent, but

Gentleness.

there are few American presidents who sought advise more widely or were more ready to accept. My own impressions, concerning him, gathered from press, platform and passing events, were largely altered by personal contact, and utterly changed by the revelations of those who knew him longer and better. Many thought the mighty hunter lacking in gentle attributes, but he could be as gentle as he was strong and as sympathetic as a mother touched by love."

Roosevelt's gentleness was especially manifested in his dealings with his children. The following paragraph is

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1. Ladies Home Journal, Oct. 1912.

taken from his autobiography. "There are many kinds of success in life worth having. It is exceedingly interesting and attractive to be a successful business man, or a railroad man, or a President, or a ranchman, or the colonel of a fighting regiment, or to kill grizzly bears or lions. But for unflaging interest and enjoyment, a household of children, if things go reasonably well, certainly make all other forms of success and achievment lose their importance in comparison".[1] On another occasion he said, "Above all teach that the first duty is to the family and within it; and that the greatest success, the highest happiness comes only thru the right type of family life".[2] He believed the strength of the nation lay in the homes. The love of parents and children for each other was of first importance in citizenship. The Roosevelts always saw to it that their family life was thoroughly normal and happy. Both Mr. and Mrs. Roosevelt felt that nothing could be more important than the training of their own children. They kept them unspoiled by their father's distinction and fitted them for the life of manly men and womanly woman.

No matter how great the pressure of public duties, or how severe the trials and burdens of being the head of the nation,

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1. Autobiography, p.364.
2. Speeches and Addresses, Vol. 5, p.781.

the President never forgot his duty to his children. He considered playing with them a necessary part of the day. They had various games but the "bear" game was the favorite. The President would act the part of a very active and fierce bear and the children would be the young hunters armed with any object which they first found. After the bear had been killed or captured they changed characters and so the fun continued. Their games were Roosevelt's games. He romped and played with them regardless whether it was at Sagamore Hill or in the White House. Children always appreciated having him in their crowd as is seen in a letter written by Roosevelt, to the parents of two visiting boys, "I am really touched the way in which your children as well as my own treat me,- as a playmate and friend. It has a comic side. Thus the last day the boys were here they were all bent upon having me take them for a scramble down Rock Creek. Of course, there was absolutely no reason why they should not go alone, but they obviously felt that my presence was needed to give zest to the entertainment..... I do not think that one of them saw anything incongruous in the President's getting as bedaubed with mud as they got, or in my wiggling and clambering around jutting rocks, thru creeks, and up what were really small cliff faces,

A companion of children

just like the rest of them; and when any one of them beat me at any point he felt and expressed simple and whole-hearted delight, exactly as if it had been a triumph over a rival of his own age".[1]

Whenever Roosevelt was separated from his children he sent them messages of love and sympathy. When they were too young to read they received picture letters which they enjoyed greatly. When writing his children he addressed them as equals; when small he wrote them as playmates and the letters were especially adapted to their childish imaginations and intelligence. As they grew older he wrote on the basis of equality — as a sympathetic and keenly interested companion. These letters were so full of helpful suggestions and advice given in such a way as to be especially useful to youths of all ranks. Joseph Bishop collected and published a volume of "Letters to His Children". They are now accessible to the American youth and are valuable guides for all ages. Roosevelt was in hearty sympathy with the work of Mr. Bishop for he said, "I would rather have this book published than anything that has been written about me."[2] The attitude he took toward the death of his youngest son, Quentin, in the late war, furnished another example of his gentleness. It was

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1. Letters to His Children, p. 112.
2. " " " " 10.

a blow to him and he would, had it been possible, have given his own life to save that of his son. He gave the best he had to the call of threatened civilization.

Lawrence Abbot says, "Roosevelt's personality was an unsurpassed combination of the unterrified fighter of what he believed to be worst, and the tender hearted lover of what he believed to be the best in mankind whether he loved or hated, talked or read, worked or played he did it with zest and eagerness."[1] Other impressions. Many writers agree that Roosevelt's personality was his greatest contribution to his country and his time. Personality is a concept which is easy to perceive but hard to define. Perhaps Percival Lowell has given one of the best definitions, "About certain people there exists a subtile something which leaves its impress indelibly upon the conscience of all who come in contact with them. This something is a power of so indefinable description that we beg definition by calling it simply the personality of the man. It is not a matter of subsequent reasoning, but of direct perception we feel it. Sometimes it charms us; sometimes it repels. But we can no more be oblivious to it than we can to the temperature of the air. Its possessor has but to enter the room and insensibly

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1. Abbott Impressions of Roosevelt. p. 311.

we are conscious of a presence. It is as if we had suddenly been placed in the field of a magnetic force". Roosevelt was neither aloof nor austere. Among statesmen he was greeted as a statesman; among warriors as a warrior; among preachers as a practical reformer; among scholars as an essayist, biographer and historian; among scientists as a discoverer; among pioneers and foresters as a naturalist; among sovereigns as a royal person; and among average men as a fellow citizen.[1] Roosevelt's whole life is like an open book. It is known publically and privately.

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1. Cf. Abbott, L. Impressions of Roosevelt. p.266.

CHAPTER II.

Theodore Roosevelt as an Active Citizen.

Roosevelt took a broad view of the fundamental principles of democracy. As a private citizen and as a public servant he earnestly endeavored to promote these principles as much as possible. His plan was to level up and not to level down. Rich and poor, black and white formed a common brotherhood. The low and depressed must be brought up to a realization of what citizenship means. His guiding principle was that the soul of the Republic stands as a challenge to all unequal opportunity to participate in all the avenues of industry, moral protection and enjoyment of education and culture. He considered political ideals and principles, like political organizations, instruments not ends. The end he recognized was the welfare of all the people.

His attitude.

His leadership showe that his great aim in life was to be of service. Just how did not matter much, so long as he accomplished something for the good of the people. His whole life was regulated by a simple and sincere desire to make his fellow men happier. He was ever ready to help the man who was

down. After he had helped him to get upon his feet again he encouraged him to go on by himself. He considered that to be a brother's keeper requires service and that the greater number the service reaches the more universal will be the ties of brotherhood.

Service.

Roosevelt had no patience with the Old Jacksonian theory of service and expressed himself very strongly when he said: "No republic can permanently endure when its politics are corrupt and base; such as exists when we have the application in political life of the degrading doctrine that to the victor belongs the spoils".[1] To him the only kind of true democracy is that in which every man is on his own merits; what he is, not what he has, what he can do, not what a pull can do for him. He determined that the fellow who had no pull would stand equal chance with his rival who had a pull, that the working man would compete with the man of social prestige. He manifested this principle in his work as a member of the Civil Service Commission. He worked with the one idea, devotion to the public welfare. He sought to extend the classified service just as rapidly as possible and to see that the law was administered thoroughly and squarely. The system of competitive examinations

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1. Addresses and State Papers, p. 177.

was strengthened by the three principles which the Commission adhered to. First, publicity, they not only advertised the holding of examinations but also published the names of the successful candidates. The inspection of the records in the office was open to all who had proper reason for investigating. Second, absolute political impartiality. The Commission took special care to emphasize that the appointees would be selected from those who passed the highest in the examinations and that political influence would play no part. Third, the Commission maintained a high standard of fairness in making investigations. Roosevelt preferred a personal investigation whenever possible for he said he could get more information by a few minutes talk with a clerk who had charge of the business under investigation than by a fortnight of formal correspondence with the head of the department.

Roosevelt was a firm believer in competitive examinations for selecting men but he did not believe it came first in promoting men. "The reason", he said, "for written competitive entrance examinations is that it is impossible for the head of the office, or the candidate's prospective immediate superior himself to know the average candidate or to test his ability. But when once in the office, the best way is by

experience in seeing him actually at work. His promotion should depend upon the judgment formed of him by supervisors".[1]

Merit system.

President Cleveland's letter to Roosevelt regretfully accepting his resignation shows his appreciation of his service on the Civil Service Commission. "You are certainly to be congratulated upon the extent and permanence of civil service reform methods which you have substancially aided in bringing about. The struggle for the firm establishment and recognition is past. Its faithful application and reasonable expansion remains a subject of deep interest to all who really desire the best attainable public service".[2]

The work which Roosevelt helped to accomplish is summed up in a public statement made by himself after he left the Commission. "People sometimes grow a little downhearted about the reform. When they feel in this mood it would be well for them to reflect on what has been actually gained in the past six years. By the inclusion of the railway mail service; the free delivery offices, the Indian school service, the internal revenue service, the other less important branches, the extent of the public service which is under the protection of the law has been more than doubled, and there are now nearly fifty

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1. Quoted from Lewis' Life of Roosevelt, Chap. VI, p. 88.
2. Quoted from Riis, J., Roosevelt, the Citizen.

thousand employees of the Federal government who have been withdrawn from the degrading influence that rules under the spoils system"[1]. Roosevelt found 14.000 places under civil service when he became commissioner, when he left the office there were 40,000. His interest in the merit system did not end when he was no longer commissioner. Six years later when he became President, his first message to Congress urged the extension of the merit system to the insular possessions, and in the second message he urged that it also should be extended to the District of Columbia. During his administration the number of classified positions subject to competitive examinations grew from 110,000 in 1901 to 206,000 in 1908.

Roosevelt went outside his party lines to look for men whom he considered most capable for service. He had been in office little more than a month when he appointed Thomas G. Jones to the United States District Judgeship in Alabama and George E. Koester as Collector of Internal Revenue in South Carolina.

Service on merit.

Both were democrats who were of good standing and reputation in their respective communities. Not only did he try to appoint good and honest men to office, but he was just as anxious to put incompetent men out of office. When he became aware that there was

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1. Quoted from Lewis, W., Life of Roosevelt, Chap. VI. p. 95.

fraud in the Post Office Department he directed the fourth assistant Post Master General who was qualified to investigate the matter, to look into the postal affairs. He also appointed assistants. one of whom was a democrat because he would be ready to find Republican wrong doings. The investigation resulted in cleaning the Post Office of inadequate service. Roosevelt was willing to punish the rogues regardless of their party. He was anxious to hunt for them impartially. Through manifesting this kind of attitude by extending his influence and example, service in political office came to be regarded from a new point of view. Previously a man in public office was looked upon with suspicion. He did, perhaps, more than any other American to modify that attitude toward politics for at the close of his administration people began to look upon the holder of a public office with respect.

Roosevelt stood for broad Americanism, the kind which cares nothing for color or creed, or whether a man is from the North, South, East or West. He admired Booker T. Washington, the man who strove all his life to bring his race to a realization of what citizenship really means. He enraged many of the people of the South by inviting Mr. Washington to lunch at the White House so that he could consult with him on a matter of mutual interest. When criticism was brought against the President he

replied: "I can not consent to take the position that the door of hope - the door of opportunity is to be shut on any man no matter how worthy, purely on the grounds of race or color".[1] He recognized the colored race in the matter of appointments. He named as collector of revenue at the Post of Charleston, South Carolina, William D. Crum, an educated colored man of excellent standing and character. His policy throughout his administration was to consider the character and the capacity of the man, not whether he was black or white. Roosevelt stood for an equal chance for all who were ready to use it not only, for their own but also for the country's good. It was while he was President that a man was dismissed from the Government Printing Office because he did not belong to a labor union. Roosevelt approved of labor unions but he had the man reinstated, because he refused to bar opportunity to any man because he was he was non-union any more than if he were of a different race. He sought to secure an equal opportunity for every citizen.

Equality of opportunity

Roosevelt believed that the powerful corporations were meddling with politics for their own selfish benefit. He approved of corporations for he believed in doing business on a

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1. Quoted from Morgan, J., Roosevelt, Boy and Man, p. 184.

gigantic scale, but he believed in them operating honestly, and subject to governmental regulation. Roosevelt was criticised for his approval of corporations for, to some, it seemed that he was substituting regulation for competition. Herbert Quick said: "The Colonel is definitely in favor of abandoning the effort to keep up competition in the industrial field. His policy seems to accept monopoly as normal, and to regulate it."[1] But Roosevelt's efforts were toward making the corporations servants of society. Size was not to be considered, rather the spirit, aims, and accomplishments. Because of certain harmful practices he made successful attacks upon the Standard Oil Company and a fine of $29,000,000 was obtained against this company. The Sugar Trust was also prosecuted for violations of the law.

His attitude toward corporations.

He realized that the corporations were despotic in prescribing the conditions under which men and women had to earn a living as well as the price of labor. In order to remedy this the Federal Department of Commerce and Labor was organized. This department has for its object the adjustment of such problems as concern matters arising between employer and employee and matters of commerce. Roosevelt believed that the workers and toilers should not only have a proper share of the profits of industry

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1. Quick, H."Why I prefer Wilson to Roosevelt, Am. M. 74 N."

but also some voice in the management of the industry; that they be allowed to help determine and regulate conditions under which they work. He strove to establish industrial democracy in which men shall have equal rights under the law and in which there shall be no special interest exempt from the operations of the law.

Roosevelt took an active part in developing the natural resources of the country. He may be given the credit of launching and putting into operation the conservation movement, a movement which is of great importance to the material welfare of the present and future generations. He believed that the incentive of private profit and of brave and virile pioneering are important factors in developing American citizenship; but at the same time he believed that this should be directed not by the individual only, but by the common and united effort of all the people.

Efforts toward Conservation and reclamation

He saw that the individual was not strong enough to cope with the monopolizing power of modern industrialism which had behind it vast masses of capital and had for its goal more wealth. Therefore he insisted that the use of primary sources of wealth must be controlled by public authority whenever constitutionally possible. He was familiar with conditions and understood the necessity of

action on the part of the governement. He was thoroughly in sympathy with the views of Gifford Pinchot, the founder of the United States Forest Reserve, and F. H. Newell, the founder of the United States Reclamation Service. In consultation with these two men, Roosevelt presented the subject to Congress in his first message Dec. 1901. In June 1902 the Reclamation Act became a law. During his administration many acres of arid public land were reclaimed. American citizens built homes on these lands and new villages and town have come into existence.

Thru Roosevelt's influence two laws were passed for the conservation of forests. He saw that our resources of timber were being destroyed at a very rapid rate and unless steps were take this nation would very soon be without forests for lumber and for conservation of water supplies. Vast regions of our mountain systems have been reserved for future use. He made it possible for the resources of the forests to be opened up to the people so that they can be made use of more than before. The national forests are now managed for the public good. The Forest Homestead Act which became a law in 1906, opened up every tract on the national forest reserves suitable for agriculture for homes of the citizens of the country. Settlers near the national forests can now enjoy the free gift of grazing

and timber privileges to the extent of their domestic needs. The Forest Rangers are ever ready with helpful suggestions to travelers seeking health and pleasure.

Coal lands were being gobbled up rapidly by combinations and trusts. Roosevelt caused action to be taken against these combinations that had obtained coal lands illegally. This did not solve the problem so he went a step further and withdrew from coal entry many million acres of coal lands on the public domain. He took the same action concerning oil lands and water power sites. He asked Congress to pass an act for leasing large areas to mining companies, but Congress adjourned without passing the bill. He then asked the Geological Survey to value the land. When a fair price was set per acre for different sections he repealed the withdrawal for certain areas and the land was turned back to entry. By this means legitimate mining enterprises were carried on.

The public owes to Roosevelt the conservation of water power. The big water power corporations wanted to buy exclusive and continuous ownership of both the mountain snows and the springs as well as the slopes over which the water runs. Under the law the government has the right to grant only revocable permits. The Forest Service drafted legislation to authorize

fifty year leases on conditions agreed upon with the leasees. The Service fixed a small rental charge on each permit issued. The corporations put up such a bitter fight that the Forest Service policy would probably have been swept away if it had not been for Roosevelt. The true situation was brought out in his message transmitting the report of the Inland Waterway Commission. As a result leasing was continued under permits. Development has been greatest in the mountains and the Pacific states. He appointed a National Conservation Commission which made an inventory of our national wealth. This was published in 1909 and was the first record of our national wealth in the history of the nation. It created world wide attention.

Roosevelt contributed much to the common welfare of the nation and the world by the inaugurating and fostering the conservation movement. Even Canada owes her conservation movement to Roosevelt for the movement had its birth in the North American Conference which was called and held in his administration. This movement is of the highest importance because it places our natural resources at the service of all the people.

The most priceless resource of a nation is its men and women. It is the work of a democracy to develop this resource as highly as possible. One form of development is that of civic

righteousness. He used his keen and accurate perception to arouse the conscience of human nature to something better. He rendered a great service by presenting in new language the old familiar virtues. He inspired new interest into the ideals which have been, and are still, guides to the goal of democracy. He taught the need of pure politics, pure business methods, and pure living. Roosevelt, like Lincoln, was devoted to ethical teachings which he lived as well as taught. He paved the way for cleaner and healthier public life by living, both in public and in private life, what he stood for.

Civic righteousness. Roosevelt believed that the church should exert a great influence upon civic righteousness. Reers Says:"Our American statesman of course, was firmly in favor of separation of church and state and of universal tolerance. But he advises every one to join the church, some church, any old church; not because one shares its beliefs, creeds are increasing unimportant - but because the church is an instrument of social welfare, and a man can do more good in combination with his fellows than when he stands alone."[1]

Roosevelt helped to bring standards of morality in the political world upward. After 1904 he made use of the "Big Stick" to improve political morality, but his efforts were not

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1. Reers, A. Roosevelt as Man of Letters, Yale Re's. 8: 694-709 jl 19.

always consistent. He was such a man of action that it seemed at times his action out ran his better judgment and that he almost sympathized with imperialism. But he always aimed his Big Stick for the public good. While many of his solutions of public problems were questioned no one who is fair-minded can say he did not play a full man's share in American life. President Harding says, "Perhaps his greatest worth apart from his appealing Americanism, and yet a vital part of it, was his crusade for a new order of things, a new conscience in the Republic. We can appraise him now in the aftermath of fuller understanding, and even those who most violently opposed him must confess his great part in an essential awakening. He did four years of arousing and uprooting. His far-seeing vision detected a dangerous draft. He cried out for governmental assertions of authority, lest government itself should be governed. In his zest he was radical, as all crusaders are, but when he saw the business conscience of America awakened, he gladly welcomed constructive supersedure.

He was really less the radical than he ofttimes appeared, and some times spoke radically against his own judgment. The greatest blunder of his career was made in this very Chamber when he addressed the Constitutional Convention in 1912. He

came against his own judgment and in yielding to insistent advice declared for the recall of judicial decisions. It is not surprising that one of his energy and courage should blunder, particularly in a period of tremendous conflict and crusading zeal. It was a mark of his greatness that he instantly recovered, and lost little of his hold and none of his respect of the American people. He incurred violent enmities but none ever called him an unfair opponent. He struck as he spoke, straight from the shoulder, and he practiced as he preached. In his virile American manhood he was the surpassing example. In the fullness of mental and physical vigor, he was the great patriotic sentinel, pacing the parapet of the Republic, alert to danger and every menace and in love with duty and serene and unafraid".[1]

In 1898 Roosevelt was tendered the nomination of Governor by the Citizen Union Party of New York, but he declined it and accepted the Republican nomination because he believed he could have a better chance to do good by cleaning up the Republican Party as an organization.[2] There were things within the Republican party which Roosevelt did not approve but he sank minor differences because he was a Republican by inheritance and by association and had cast his lot with that party. He

Party loyalty.

1. Harding's Address to Ohio Legislature, Jan. 29, 1919.
2. Cf. Lewis, W. Life of Theodore Roosevelt, Chap. X, p.149.

felt it to be his duty to be loyal to its principles by purifying it of corruption and maintain its organization.

His action in creating the new party in 1912 was inconsistent with his teaching. This may be partially understood when we remember he was very impulsive, impatient with delays and and eager to champion what he believed to be the cause of right. The keynote to his object in forming the progressive party may be found in his statement, "If we form a third party and go out and fight for better social conditions in this country we will accomplish more in three months than could be accomplished under ordinary conditions in a dozen years."[1] He desired to be President in 1912 because of certain abuses that were going on at that time. He became a candidate for nomination in the Republican Convention at Chicago. He believedthat he was unjustly denied the nomination by this convention. Feeling the sting of this injustice and urged on by hosts of influential citizens to head a new party for reform, he decided to become the nominee of a new party in order that he might have a chance to correct the abuses of politics. It may be said that his loyalty to principles of good governemnt stood above loyalty to a political party whose abuses he could not correct.

Regardless of the blunders he may have made there never

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1. Quoted from Lewis, W., Life of Theodore Roosevelt, Chap. XIV, p., 369.

was a greater patriot. It has been said that his whole life was an expression of "Jubilant Americanism". His love for his country was intense. He knew his country's history as few men knew it. He was intensely acquainted with the conditions involving the life, the outlook, and the aspirations of so many classes of people. President Harding says, "A 100 per cent Americanism was the mastering passion. Men thought of him first as a warrior, but it was his all-encompassing Americanism which made him one. Historians rank him high as a statesman; It was his Americanism that exalted him. Many believe him to have become a consummate politician- and he was- but he put his Americanism high above political plans and practices."[1]

Patriotism.

His last great message to the American people was concerning loyalty. He was unable to attend the meeting of the American Defense Society, of which he was honorary president, so he sent a letter which closed with the words which express his life creed. "We have room for but one soul loyalty and that is loyalty to the American people."[2]

Loyalty to country implies loyalty to duty and he who is not loyal to duty is really not loyal to his country in the true sense. Roosevelt did not try to shirk or dodge any

1. Harding Address to Ohio Legislature, June 29, 1919.
2. Quoted from Lewis, W., Life of Roosevelt, p. 471.

responsibility and that was one reason why he could do so much in a life time. Lyman Abbott said of him, "During nearly nine years of his executive life as Governor of New York State and President of the United States he was courageous in fulfilling all the responsibilities laid upon him by the Constitution and the laws, he has been scrupulous in not assuming responsibilities which were not laid upon him."[1] Roosevelt believed in centralized government and he endeavored to arouse a sense of civic responsibility in the great mass of the people. He contributed much along this line by sending messages that were technically addressed to Congress but were really addressed to the whole country. Effective government comes by each citizen feeling his responsibility and doing his share of the work.

Responsibility.

Roosevelt was born to wealth and position in the City of New York, and was educated in one our famous universities. He could have chosen a life of ease but he preferred the strenuous life. Few youths born to wealth ever gain an important place in the history of our democracy. As a rule the men who achieve the highest places come from the country where the daily struggle with nature for a livelihood breeds into them the stern virtues of greatness and awakens a realization

1. Outlook, 102. p. 101.

of their relation to national governemnt, and the duty they owe to it. "Almost all our great Presidents have been brought up in the country, and most of them worked hard on farms in their youth and got their early mental training in the healthy democracy of farm life."[1] Roosevelt was the first city born boy to reach the presidency. He sought places where he could assume responsibility, work, fight and learn. He was all the time working at something worth doing and trying to do it well whether it was writing books, cowpunching, hunting mountain lions or spoilsmen, or performing his duty as an executive.

Initiative.

Gifford Pinchot, a long and intimate friend of Roosevelt says: "President Roosevelt's remarkable power as an executive, rested, as I knew him principally upon the following qualities:

"First and most of all, his natural tendence was to act. He understood that while action may sometimes be wrong, the failure to act is almost always so. He was painstakingly careful in reaching conclusions on matters of great moment, but once the conclusion was reached action followed instantly. This was so true that it was never safe to go to him with any plan that was not fully worked out and ready for action.

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1. At Bangor, Maine, Aug. 27, 1902.

"Roosevelt trusted his men and gave them their head. He knew, as every great executive must, that he could not do all himself. He wanted us, each within our sphere to act as vigorously as he did himself. Once he had come to have confidence in the wisdom and honesty of an adviser, he adopted recommendations almost as a matter of course. The result was that the men working under him were not only confident in his support, but had a feeling of pride and proprietorship in their work which doubled their efficiency. Red tape had no place in his scheme of life. He wanted things done, done in accordance with rules if possible- but in any event done. I remember his sending for an official who had reported that a certain thing could not be done, to say if the official in question could not see his way to do it, he, the President, would get somebody in his place who could. Where red tape conflicted with getting things done, it was always the red tape that had to suffer. With him machinery nevertook the place of the end for which the machinery had been created. Roosevelt had an unequaled capacity for inspiring the men who worked under him. During his administration thousands of clerks in Washington who had never spoken to him or shaken his hand were filled with the spirit of his great personality, saw the vision of larger things to be accomplished

thru the medium of their minor tasks, and gave the best that was in them instead of watching the clock.

"Promotion was for merit in Roosevelt's time. As former Civil Service Commissioner he understood that it is no more important to keep the faithful civil servant in office than to get rid of the unfit. The sin of the delinquent was sure to find him out and no amount of political influence could keep the unfit in office, prevent the recognition of the efficient or defer the punishment of the guilty. Under him, the chiefs in the department were free from political control. During my twelve years of office there were never to my knowledge a single case of appointing, promoting, dismissing, or retaining any one in the United States Forest Service for political reasons.

"Roosevelt not only appointed men of merit and gave them a chance to do their work, but when their work clashed with private interests he stood firmly behind them against political and financial pressure of every kind without his backing they would have been helpless or would have been forced out.

"Roosevelt led his men. He asked nothing of us that he was not ready to do himself. He was his own severest taskmaster, and expected of himself and actually accomplished more work than any of us.

"Finally, he was always more than generous in acknowledging help or good work, not seldom to the point of attributing to the other the credit for things done or said for which he was mainly responsible."[1]

He believed in acting for the welfare of all the people whenever there was a chance for such action. An example of this may be found in his action of appointing a number of voluntary, unpaid commissioners to report to him in regard to governmental scientific work, department methods, and country life. Congress did not give express warrant for the action taken by the President but he saw in each instance that the welfare of the people would be improved. His action resulted in great benefit to all the people. His motto was: "Get action; do things; be sane, don't fritter away your time; create, act, take a place wherever you are and be somebody; get action."[2] He appointed men who did things just as every one in our nation would have them appointed. It was due to his initiative that various things were accomplished during his administration.

It was due to his initiative that the Panama Canal was built. He was intensely interested in having the canal built. He was willing to oppose and overcome the powerful opposition

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1. Quoted from Lewis, W., Life of Roosevelt, p. 251.
2. Quoted from Douglas, G. W., Many Sided Roosevelt. p. 83.

to the construction of any canal. Greatest of all he was willing to take the responsibility of positive action. In a speech to the University of California on March 23, 1911, he said: "I am interested in the Pamama Canal because I started it. If I had followed traditional convention methods I should have submitted a dignified state paper of probably 200 pages to Congress and the debate would have been going on yet. But I took the canal zone and let congress debate and while the debate was going on the canal was also". Had he not taken action while he had an opportunity, it is quite possible, the canal would still be a thing for future action.

His initiative in building the Panama Canal.

From the time of the treaty of 1846 until the building of the canal the history of Panama was one long series of revolutions. The disturbance seemed to be on the increase when Roosevelt became president. The United States tried to establish a treaty, known as the Herman-Hay Treaty whereby the United States was to pay $10,000,000 for a strip of territory across the Isthmus six miles wide. The United States after ten years was to pay Columbia $250,000 annually. When Maroquin rejected this treaty Roosevelt saw three routes which the United States might choose. (1) Accept the situation and continue conversation with

Maroquin, or turn again to the Nicaraguan route. This meant indefinitely postponing the construction of the canal. Roosevelt considered it the moral duty of this country to construct it. (2). Encourage a revolution in the Isthmus. This seemed to him an immoral thing to do. (3). Carry out the terms of the treaty by seizing the strip across the Isthmus ceded by the treaty and proceed to construct the canal. Considering this the right course to take, he drafted a message to Congress in which he advocated the seizure of the strip . This was not necessary for at about this time Panama decided to sever relations with Columbia. The revolution broke out Nov. 3 and on Nov. 6 the United States recognized the Republic of Panama. Immediately a treaty was made giving the United States full power to proceed to construct the canal.

This procedure has been criticised as questionable. One writer said: "Roosevelt took the canal zone by what amounted to violence or worse. I am proud of the canal, but we shall grow more and more ashamed of the way we entered on the canal project as we improve in national morals"[1] Roosevelt's conception of the White Man's burden involves relations of one country with another. He believed that it was the White Man's burden

1. Quick.H'. Why I prefer Wilson to Roosevelt, Amer. M. 74, p. 16 N'12.

to take charge of backward nations. There is a question whether this policy is the proper kind for a democratic nation to pursue. Roosevelt was such a man of action that at times it seemed he overestimated the rights of the strong. The criticism has been made that at times he used the Big Stick as a way to get power. The following shows some of the public comment,

"When Uncle Sam acquired the Panama Canal zone there was a very strong suspicion throughout the country that the Roosevelt administration was asserting the doctrine that "might makes right", at the expense of the Republic of Columbia. We acted toward that country in very much the same way Italy did toward Turkey. Italy wanted Tripoli and took it, ... And so when we wanted Panama we encouraged, if we did not actually inspire, a revolution that was made short and sweet by our prompt reconition of the independence of Panama.

Panama belonged to Columbia, and if Columbia had been strong enough to successfully resist the United States, this country might have been forced to accept her terms before starting to construct the canal across the Isthmus. But Uncle Sam is bossing this hemisphere, and there is no nation in either of the Americas big enough and strong enough to dispute her authority. Columbia could't do it; almost before she had opened

her mouth to protest Roosevelt warned her that she might expect a spanking if she got gay. That is the naked truth about the Panama transaction, as most people understood it; but there was a general feeling that Columbia was insisting upon unreasonable terms in the matter of the ditch that Uncle Sam wanted to dig, and therefore there is disposition to look upon the end as justifying the means."[1]

Notwithstanding all these criticisms Roosevelt's interest was with the work from the first, When there was a dispute as to the type of the canal to be built he did not let the majorities of opinions in the Commission rule. He analyzed carefully the reasons for and against each type, made up his mind, and set them to work on the lock type. He saw it was not the time to theorize but a time for action. By his initiative he stopped the argument that had been going on for over a hundred years and made it possible for the United States to perform one of the greatest feats of its kind.

Roosevelt's part in the settlement of the Russo-Japanese War.

It was Roosevelt who took the initiative in the settlement of the Russo-Japanese War. Doubtless peace was brought about very largely through the influence of Roosevelt. He watched for the psychological moment to suggest a settlement to these nations. At times when the

1. Editorial Comment by American Newspapers on "How the U. S. Acquired the Right to Build the Panama Canal". p.98.

commissioners of the two countries could not agree, Roosevelt made suggestive compromises which were the basis of the final agreement. This action placedhim on record as an advocate of arbitration of international disputes.

As a mediator between Russia and Japan, Roosevelt was regarded as a great benefactor by the world at large. For this service he was awarded the Noble Peace Prize which consisted of a gold medal and $40,000. In the same speech in which he acknowledged his gratitude for the award, he characteristically gave the $40,000 to further the cause of industrial peace. He believed that "the peace of righteousness and justice, the only kind of peace worth having, is, at least, as necessary in the industrial world as it is among nations."[1]

Roosevelt not only displayed enormous energetic initiative himself but he aroused the initiative in others. Whenever he saw citizens struggling to solve problems for the common welfare of the American people he unselfishly backed up their initiative.

Encouraged initiative in others.

As Mr. Davenport says, "It was a custom with him while he was in the White House to keep his eye on every sign of dawning initiative in every corner of the country, get in touch with it thru frequent

1. Address before the Noble Peace Committee in Christiania, May 5, 1910.

luncheons at the White House. He inspired it with his own ideals and sent it forth.

"If the number of men and women in the United States upon whom Roosevelt laid the hand of appreciation and inspiration were known, it would be a great company. While no man thought more deeply upon democracy than the great and practical Lincoln, perhaps no man ever thought so deeply, and no man ever cleared a greater single obstacle from the path of democracy, than he, Roosevelt, on the other hand, did more to make democracy permanently workable than any other man in our history. His marvelous moral and political dynamic personality has permeated every corner of his country. The influence of his spirit has gone into every election district in the United States and at this hour in all parts of America, men and women are climbing up to public power and influence in their respective communities who get their start from the touch of Roosevelt."[1]

It is not easy to say what sentiment was most dear to him but it might be indicated by his favorite expression,"square deal". When he was only twenty-three years old he took his seat in the New York Legislature, Soon there was a scandal raised concerning a judge. Machine politics ordered silence but Roosevelt would not be silenced. He demanded fair play and pressed

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1. Davenport, F. Best Contributions to Demonracy. Outlook; 127, pp.470-1, March 23, 1921.

the issue until it had converted public opinion and the state came to his support. When he became head of the New York Police force his first purpose was to establish order and honesty within the force.

Square deal

There existed a regular and well known price for promotion. Roosevelt stopped the system, punished guilty members of the force and awarded deserving ones without regard to outside influence. He gave them a square deal and showed that a man stood on his own merits, not on politics, race or religion. He saw that the law was enforced. There were 30,000 saloons in New York when he came into office. The law directing the closing of all saloons on Sunday had never been enforced on all saloon keepers. Some favored few kept open. Under his direction all saloons were closed.

When he became President our government was largely controlled by the wealthy people of the country. He made the statement, "The labor union shall have a square deal, and the corporations shall have a square deal and in addition, all private citizens shall have a square deal". Roosevelt was not afraid of wealth and considered that it ought to be controlled by law for the common good. He immediately took steps to rescue the government from the hands of corporate wealth. In "American Ideals" he scorns lawless money getting. "The con-

scienceless stock speculator, who acquires wealth by swindling his fellows, and by debauching judges, and corrupting legislatures, and who ends his days with the reputation of being among the richest men of America, exerts over the minds of the rising generation an influence worse than that of the average murderer or bandit, because his career is even more dazzling in success, and even more dangerous in its effects upon the community".[1] Roosevelt's attitude was cautious toward the big corporations. He asked Congress to provide for publicity in affairs of corporations and as a result the Department of Commerce and Labor was brought into existence. Within it was a bureau of corporations charged with the power and duty of investigation. Thru the Department of Justice he brought to time the Standard Oil Company and convicted railways and shippers in the East and West for taking and giving unlawful rebates. A senator who was attempting to influence an exectutive department contrary to law was imprisoned. Another senator was convicted for joining a conspiracy to steal public lands. He seems to sum up his feelings when he says, "The man is not square who picks pockets with a railroad rebate, murders with an adulterant instead of a bludgeon, burglarizes with a "rake off" instead of a jimmy, cheats with a company

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1. American Ideals. p.5.

Prospectus instead of a deck of cards, or scuttle his town instead of his ship, does not feel on his brow the brand of a malefactor. The shedder of blood, the oppressor of the widow, and the fatherless, long ago became odious, but later-day treacheries fly no skull and cross-bone flag at the mask head."[1] Roosevelt tried to practice the square deal thruout his life work. Incidents may be pointed out to prove that he was inconsistent, as in the Henry M, Whitney matter, the Bellamy Storers business. the Harriman Campaign, etc., but in all probability these represent mistakes common to all men.

How he practiced democracy.

From his early life Roosevelt was thoroughly democratic. Burns's sympathetic democracy appealed to him and he profited by his advice. When he entered Harvard he had the name and money which might have made him a snob but it did not. He was quite human and showed his simple taste in fitting up his room. While many students spent thousands of dollars furnishing their rooms, he ornamented his with the skins and stuffed animals and rare birds which he had mounted. He held that he was only a common place person and thought that almost any one could do the things which he himself had done. A letter dealing largely with sportsmanship brings out this point more clearly. He says: "Personally, as you know,

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1. Quoted from Mechlin's "Introduction to Social Ethics, p.78.

I am not really good at any game. Perhaps in my time I came nearer to being fairly good as a walker, a rider, and a rifleshot than in any other way; but I was never more than average man even in these three respects. Whatever success I have had in game hunting-- and it has been by no means noteworthy-- has bee due, as well as I can make out, to three causes: first, common sense and good judgment; second, perseverance, which is the only way of allowing one to make good one's own blunders; third, the fact that I shot as well at game as at a target..... Now, of course, the possession and practice of these three qualities did not by any means make me as successful a hunter as the men who, in addition to possessing them were also better shots than I was, or who had greater power of endurance ~~of endurance~~, or who were more skilled in plainscraft or woodscraft. But they did enable me to kill a reasonable quantity of big game and to do it in ways that made my observation of value to the faunal or outdoor naturalist. Besides I knew what I wanted, and was willing to work hard to get it. In short, I am not an athlete, I am simply a good, ordinary, out-of-doors man. You speak of my recent hundred-mile ride. Now this was no feat for any young man in condition worth speaking about; twice out in the cattle country, on the roundup, when I was young, I have myself

spent thirty-six hours in the saddle,merely dismounting to eat or change horses; the hundred-mile ride represents what any elderly man in fair trim can do if he chooses. ..... I think my last sentence covers the whole case, that is,'if he chooses'. It has always seemed to me that in life there are two ways of achieving success, or, for the matter of that, of achieving what is commonly called greatness. One is to do that which can only be done by the man of exceptional and extraordinary abilities, of course this means that only this one man can do it, and it is a very rare kind of success, or of greatness. The other is to do that which many men could do, but which, as a matter of fact, none of them actually does. This is the ordinary kind of success or greatness. Nobody but one of the world's rare geniuses could have written the Gettysburg speech, or the Second Inaugural, or met as Lincoln met the awful crisis of the Civil War. But most of us can do the ordinary things, which, however, most of us do not do. My own successes have come within this second category. Any fairly hardy and healthy man can do what I have done in hunting and ranching if he only really wants to, and will take the pains and trouble and at the same time use common sense. Any one that chose could have led the kind of life I have led, and any one who had led that life

could if he chose— and by choosing I mean, of course, choosing to exercise in advance the requisite industry, judgment, and foresight, none of them to an extraordinary degree— have raised my regiment or served in positions analogous to those in which I have served in civil life."[1]

The cosmopolitan make up of his cavalry regiment shows Roosevelt's democratic attitude. In his book, "The Rough Riders" he says, "We drew recruits from Harvard, Yale, Princeton and many other colleges; from club life the Somerset of Boston and Knickerbocker of New York, and from among the men who belonged neither to club nor college. Four of the policemen who had served under me while I was president of the New York Police Board insisted on coming. ..... Easterners and Westerners, Northerners and Southerners, officers and men, cow boys and college graduates, wherever they came from, whatever their social position, possessed in common the traits of hardihood and thirst for adventure. ..... Some were professional gamblers and on the other hand, no less than four had been or were Baptist or Methodist clergymen, and proved first class fighters, by the way.

From the Indian Territory there came a number of Indians-Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws and Creeks. One of the gamest and best fighters of the regiment was Pollock, a full blooded

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1. Living Age, 265: p. 527.

Pawnee. .....

There were men who had won fame as Rocky Mountain stage drivers, or who had spent endless days guiding the slow wagon train across the grassy plains. There were miners who knew every camp from Yukon to Leadville and cow-punchers in whose memories were stored the brands carried by the herds from Chiknakua to Assinaboid".[1]

As officer of the Rough Riders Roosevelt had the privilege of having more and better things to eat than the common soldiers. But he would not take different food or different shelter from what his men had. All dainties went to the sick at whose bedside he was a constant visitor. He called each of his men by name and treated them as if they were members of his own family.

Roosevelt was proud of the battle of Santiago, not that he attached undue importance to it, for in speaking at Chattanooga in 1902 he said: "Compared to the great death wrestle that reeled over the mountains roundabout this city, the fight of Santiago was the merest skirmish; but the spirit in which we handled ourselves there, I hope, was the spirit in which we have to face our duties as citizens if we are to make the Republic what it must be made".

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1. Rough Riders, pp. 13-31.

Roosevelt could entertain as formally as Washington when occasion demanded, but at other times he was quite informal and entertained at the White House as a private citizen. He enjoyed the informal entertainments because they helped him to get in touch with other men on matters which were of vital and mutual interest. A morning caller often would be invited to return for lunch in order that they might complete their conversation and become better acquainted. Men whom it would have been difficult to confer with in the formal atmosphere of the executive study, under these informal conditions became at ease and expressed themselves freely. His guests were men and women with live qualities, those who had done and were doing some good work. It might be a clergyman, a labor leader, a professional musician, explorer, or author. All sorts of men were invited if they had accomplished or had possibilities of accomplishing something worth while. It made no difference whether they were those familiar with drawing room codes or the ready manner of the ranch. He believed that people from all parts of the country should meet and conduct their business as neighbors. This attitude caused many plain Americans all over the country to visit him. The President would often stop his morning business and go down to the waiting line in the Cabinet room. His amazing

memory and extraordinary interest in people made it possible in many cases for him to say something personal to the visitor. He enjoyed this part of his morning work because he could shake hands and have a personal word with 50 or 60 people in fifteen minutes and let them feel that they had a friend in him. He was also fond of meeting his fellows in friendly rivalry in vigorous sports.

As President he put himself in closest touch with the people and studied the thoughts and feeling of the average citizen. When he wished something done he asked the people to help him by expressing their wants and desires with reference to what was to be done. Within four years he traveled more than 50,000 miles and visited every state in the Union. In his Western tour he delivered 385 speeches in 25 states and territories. He was known by more people in his own country, as well as abroad, than any other American. His virile democratic actions caused him to attract people of other countries. This gave opportunity for other nations to know more of the United States and the people of this country to know more of other countries.

As a leader of democracy he kept his mind plastic. No one can say of him that he was an obstructionist, for he was

always ready for new ideas. He did not believe in laying down rules that were never to be broken. When he saw that a rule was blocking the path of what he termed "the larger good" he broke it without hesitancy. After his speech before the Chamber of Commerce of New York City, November 15, 1911, an Eastern newspaper spoke of his as "A full grown man who was still growing."

He believed that politics and political activity are the mechanical side of governemnt; that beneath these the real spirit of democratic expression of the people is the force that is to be reckoned with in administering the great policies of the nation. it is this that makes society stable and gives permanence and life to our progressive organism. He acted in the belief that the great policies of state cannot be obtained unless the mechanism which is necessary for their operation is kept in perfect running order. Therefore he never tired of looking after the mechanical side of statesmanship.

In all his utterances there is found a belief in strong national character and national action. One hundred per cent. American was not suggestd to him by the peril in which he saw the nation during the last four years of his life. He was always looking into the future and might even be considered a prophet. As early as 1883 he wrote:"A miserly economy in preparation may in the end involve a lavish outlay of men and money which after all comes

Farsightedness.

too late to more than partially offset the evils. It was criminal folly for Jefferson and Madison not to give us a force of regulars during the twelve years before the struggle. The necessity for an efficient navy is now so evident that only our almost incredible shortsightedness prevents our preparing one."[1] Later in an address at the Naval War College, in 1897, he said: "If we forget that we can only secure peace by being ready and willing to fight for it we may some day have little cause to realize that a rich nation which is slothful, timid, or unwieldy, is an easy prey for any people which still retain those most valuable of all qualities, the soldierly virtues, we may strive to build up those fighting qualities for the lack of which in a nation, no refinement, no culture, no wealth, no material prosperity can atone. To see this country at peace with foreign nations we will be wise to place reliance upon a first class fleet or first class battleships rather than on any arbitration treaty which the wit of man can devise. Peace is a goodness only when she comes with a sword girt on thigh. Cowardice in a race is the unpardonable sin and a wilful failure to prepare for danger may be as bad as cowardice. The timid man who can not fight, and the selfish or foolish man who will not take the steps that will enable him to fight stand almost on the same plane. The

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1. History of Naval War of 1812.

men who have preached universal peace which premitted the continuance of the Armenian butcheries have inflicted a wrong on humanity greater than would be inflicted by the most ruthless and war-loving despot. Better a thousand times err on the side of tame submission to injury or cold blooded indifference to the misery of the oppressed."[1] In his message to Congress, December 1901, December 1902, in his speeches made at Minnessota State Fair, September 2, 1901, at San Francisco, May 14, 1903, at Williams College, June 22, 1905 and at Cairo, Illinois, October 10, 1907 the same thought is expressed.

His attitude toward a League of Nations.

Roosevelt was one of the first to advocate a League of Nations. He preceived the international state of mind produced by the World War. In his address before the Noble Prize Commission in Christiania on May 5, 1910, he said: "It is earnestly to be hoped that the various governments of Europe, working with those of America and Asia, shall set themselves seriously to the task of devising some method which will accomplish this result,(The establishment of an international supreme court of the world). If I may venture the suggestion, it would be well for the statesmen of the world, in planning for the erection of this world

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1. American Ideals.

court, to study what has been done in the United States by the Supreme Court. I cannot help thinking that the constitution of the United States notably in the establishment of the Supreme Court and in the method adopted for securing peace and good relations among and between different states, offer certain valuable analogies to what should be striven for in order to secure thru the Hague courts and conferences, a species of world federation for international peace and justice. .....

"Something should be done as soon as possible to check the growth of armaments, especially naval armaments, by international agreement. No one power could or should act by itself; for it is eminently undesirable, from the standpoint of the peace of righteousness, that a power which really does believe in peace should plane itself at the mercy of some rival which may, at bottom, have no such belief and no intention of acting on it. But, granted sincerety of purpose, the Great Powers of the World should find no insurmountably difficulty in reaching an agreement which would put an end to the present costly and growing expenditure on naval armaments. .....

"It would be a master stroke if those Great Powers, honestly bent on peace, should form a League of Peace, not only to

keep the peace among themselves, but to prevent by force if necessary, it being broken by others. .....

"In new and wild communities, where there is violence, an honest man must protect himself; and until other means of securing safety are decided, it is both foolish and wicked to persuade him to surrender his arms while the men who are dangerous to the community retain theirs. He should not renounce the right to protect himself by his own efforts until the community is so organized that it can effectively relieve the individual of the duty of putting down violence. So it is with t the nations. Each nation must keep well prepared to defend itself until the establishment of some form of international police power competent and willing to prevent violence, as between nations. .....

"The combination might at first be only to secure peace within certain definite limits and certain definite conditions, but the ruler or statesman who should bring about such a combination would have earned his place in history for all time, and his title to the gratitude of mankind."

The World War gave Roosevelt opportunity for his last great service to his country. From the beginnings of hostilities

in Europe he urged, in speech and in writing, for America to prepare for the inevitable struggle. When the struggle did come he did all in his power to push it thru to a successful conclusion. He never hesitated, but bent every effort toward strengthening the army and navy and to induce his fellow countrymen to rise to the proper heroic mood which is necessary for war. He insisted from the first that the United States could not afford to endure without fighting the wrong and resist the humiliation heaped upon all nations by the German Empire. Thru his leadership America awakened to the need of military training. When war was declared he urged others to go and was desperately anxious to go himself. He wanted to recruit an army and respond to the call of threatened civilization, but the War Department refused to furnish him with facilities. He was represented, however, by four sons, one of which gave his life for his country.

His last great service.

Roosevelt rendered a great service behind the lines with voice and pen, ever insisting upon action. While he might have become a general had he been permitted to raise his volunteer army, many feel as Harding when he said: "Somehow I am glad he remained a Colonel—nay, The Colonel. How significant it is,

and what a tribute, that he has made the title of loftiest rank; he is "The Colonel" to all America, and one needs only to mention the title without the name to have it understood he is speaking of the most eminent Colonel of all time.

CHAPTER III.

Roosevelt's Literary Activities.

Strictkly speaking Roosevelt's literary activities hardly belong to topics considered, except in the wider sense of an American citizen who was a leader in a number of fields. Even when he was writing on other things or exploring, far removed from political matters, there was the same point of view. He never forgot that he was an American citizen.

Roosevelt not only demonstrated by example the principles of democracy, but he also contributed thru literature the things he regarded of highest value for the present and future generations. Lawrence Abbott has estimated that Roosevelt produced 18,000,000 written words in his life time. A writer who does nothing but write would feel that he had fulfilled his duty to his profession if he produced that much. Writing was not Roosevelt's chief profession, it was merely one of his avocations. He was a writer at the same time he was a student, soldier, explorer, traveler, speaker, governor, and president.

His writing differ from most men of letters for he did not have time for consideration and revision which the professional writer give to his work. Father Zahm, the scientist, who accompanied Roosevelt on a large part of his South American explorations describes his methods thus:

Natural scientist.

"The articles intended for one of the magazines to which he contributed, was dictated to his secretary and dictated for the most part immediately after the occurrence of the event described while all the facts were fresh in his memory. Descriptions of scenery were rarely delayed more than one day, usually not more than a few hours. As soon as he returned from a visit to a museum: a cattle ranch or public gathering of any kind he called his secretary, and we soon heard the clicking of the keys of a typewriter and it mattered not where he happened to be at the time- on a railway train, or on a steamer, or in a hotel- it was all the same to him. The work had to be done, and it was accomplished at the earliest possible moment. .... The articles which appeared in another magazine described his hunting experiences in Matto Grosso, unlike those recounting incidents of the triumphal march to other parts of South America, were written by his own hand, and often with the expenditure of great labor. Most people have come to believe

that because Roosevelt wrote so much— and that often under the most unfavorable conditions— he must therefore have dashed off his articles for the press with little or no effort. Nothing is further from the truth. No one was more painstaking or conscientious than Roosevelt was in his literery work. I had frequent evidence of this especially in the upper Paraguy. Here it often happended that he received different and contradictory reports regarding the habits of certain animals but he would not put in writing his own opinion about the disputed question until he had thoroughly investigated the subject and had satisfied himself that he had arrived at the truth. .....

Sometime his observations were penned after he had returned from a long hunt in the jungle. Any other man would have thrown himself into his hammock and taken a rest. But not so our Nimrod. He would refresh himself by a plunge into a stream, if there was one near by, or by a copious ablution in his portable bath, and then he would forthwith seat himself at a folding writers table, which he always carried with him, and set down the experiences of the day while they were still vividly before his mind. He would thus continue to write for an hour or two, or even several hours, according to the time at his disposal. .....

He wrote with indelible pencil, and by means of carbon paper, three copies were made of each article. This was as a precaution against loss of the manuscript in the mails. He did not aim at stylistic effort, and never made any attempt at meritricious adornment of his thoughts like Cardinal Newman, his chief effort was to be clear, to express himself in such ways that no one could mistake the meaning he desired to convey. It is for this reason that the style of his hanting articles is so graphic and pelluced, and that he was able to make his readers see marvels of tropical scenes as he saw them.[1]

Roosevelt's indignation was aroused by faulty observations and fake deductions of writers. He always demanded care and accuracy in observations. His constructive work was great but he also rendered another service. Whenever he found mistakes which had been associated with the histories of animals he took care to expose them and thus correct false ideas which were being handed down from generation to generation. He discovered that more attention had been given by writers, to the means of hunting of game rather than to their full life histories. Here he has made a contribution to natural science. He supplied to the best of his ability recorded life histories of our large animals.

1, Outlook, 121: 434-6, March 12, 1919.

Before hunting Roosevelt would read all that was written about the animals he proposed to hunt. Then while hunting he looked not only for the truth of the descriptions he had read but also for things that other observers had overlooked. A statement made by him helps to clarify his reasons for selecting the natural history of big game animals as his specialty. "Most big game hunters never learn anything about the game except how to kill it; and most naturalists never observe it at all. Therefore a large amount of important and rather obvious facts remain unobserved or unaccurately observed, until the species become extinct. What is most needed is not the ability to see what very few people can see, but to see what almost any one can see, but nobody takes the trouble to look at. ..... The facts I saw and observed during our five weeks hunt(for cougars) were obvious, they need only the simplest power of observation and deduction from observation. But nobody had hitherto shown or expressed these simple powers."[1] The qualities which Roosevelt used in hunting, keenness of mind and perception, accuracy of deduction with absolute love for truth, are the qualities which if used will raise natural history to higher levels.

Roosevelt's interest in big game animals was seconded by his interest in birds. In his boyhood he began collecting

1. James Morgan. Theodore Roosevelt, The Boy and Man.

birds and in early life published a pamphlet about them. He might have taken a place among the out-of-door ornithologists of America had he chosen bird study as a major interest but he selected the life of big animals because of the greater field which remained unexplored.

Roosevelt had been criticised for killing game unnecessarily. He had great regard for the preservation of wild life but he knew it was necessary to have specimens for scientific research. "There should be no collecting except for an adequate and public purpose, and of specimens on the verge of extinction there should no collecting at all, and purposeless slaughter committed under the pretense of collecting should be rigorously punished. But if the conditions be fulfilled, it is as necessary to collect animals for museum species as to kill sheep and chickens for food"[1] As evidence of his eagerness to keep our natural life protected from wanton slaughter, he, while President, established the first National Bird Preserve, on Pelican Island, Florida. Altogether he established fifty-one reservations to keep different species from extinction.

His influence in natural history is very valuable. He developed interest in out-of-door life and passed it on to higher planes. Father Zahm considered that science had lost a great

leader when Roosevelt entered upon a political career. Brander Mathews, one of the best American contemporary critics of literature claims Roosevelt should have chosen the writing of history as a profession. "His untimate reputation as a man of letters will rest most securely upon his stern labors as a historian. His "Winning of the West" is an abiding contribution to American historical literature"[1] Lawrence Abbott says: "On the political side I think his "Naval War of 1812" and his "Life of Gouverneur Morris" ought not to be— and will not be- forgotten"[2] His "Oliver Cromwell" and " Auto biography" place his among the biographers.

As historian.

Roosevelt was also an essayist. Some of his works are certainly artistic and literary. Perhaps his chapter on "Outdoor and Indoor" in his Autobiography is the most striking illustration. In fact the general character of the Autobiography, the three articles describing Arizona experiences in 1913 and his papers on History and Literature all prove his place among essayists. Just after the publication of "History and Literature and other essays", a critic wrote: "Despite the fact that he is too earnest and energetic to assume successfully the discussive manner of a typical

As an Essayist.

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1. Refer to Abbott- Impressions of Roosevelt, p. 180-2
2. Ibid.

essayist, despite frequent repetitions and an unresisted tendency to indulge in exhortations, despite occasional extravagante of statement and a more than occasional looseness of structure, Mr. Roosevelt has not merely interested us by his essays, but has left us full of gratitude and high admitation. ..... Mr. Roosevelt is always and everywhere trying to make his fellow men see as clearly as he sees how glorious, on the one hand and how far from perfect on the other, the progress of the race has been. What noble opportunities of advancement and what dire peril confront the world to-day, what splendid promise the future holds for individuals and nations that seek to know their duty and to do it fearlessly.[1]

Roosevelt's addresses, essays, editorials and miscellaneous papers are not always literary in subject, but he has used plain direct, forceful English without thoughtas to the style. In these we have the thought of a moralist, an essayist, high-minded preacher of strenuous life, Chrisitanity that has courage to make itself felt, one-hundred per cent.American and military preparedness. In these Roosevelt gives a fair summary of his philosophy of life and his conception of public and individual morality. One of his critics said: "Mr. Roosevelt

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1. Independent, 76, 1913, p. 92.

is in some ways the literary descendant of Benjamine Franklin. There is the same frank, crude, sensible materialism, the same indifference to some of the finer shades of thought, the same whole-hearted, healthy patriotism, the same innate respect for justice and order, the same preference for action over speculation, the same apothesis of the common-place necessary virtues of courage, self-control, industry and honesty. And if we are sometimes annoyed by the "cocksureness" which runs through the whole strain, we must remember that self-confidence is the characteristic American quality, and that no one would really be accepted as a leader or spokesman by any large body of people of the United States who was not liberally provided with that useful adjunct to success in a hesitating world".[1]

Roosevelt was a successful public speaker. In every address he had something to say and was vitally interested in getting it over to his audience. He spoke as one American talking to his fellowmen upon subjects of interest to all alike.

Addresses.

These addresses were of such value that they were preserved and are placed with his other literary contributions. A speech which deserves special mention because of its contribution to citizenship, was that made

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1. Living Age; 268: p. 558, 1911.

in Paris, April 23, 1910. Roosevelt gave a lecture at Sorbonne which was an appeal to the highest type of citizenship based upon individual and social conduct. "The success of republics like yours and like ours means the glory, and our failure the despair of manhood; and for you and for us the question of the quality of the individual citizen is supreme. ..... I speak to a brilliant assembly. I speak in a great University, which represents the flower of the highest intellectual development; I pay all homage to intellect; and yet I know I have the assent of all of you present when I add that more important still are the commonplace, everyday qualities and virtues." He then emphasized those qualities which we have discussed under his theory of citizenship. In his straight forward way he attacked race suicide which was a growing problem in France. "Even more important than ability to fight at need, is to remember that the chief of blessings for any nation is that it shall leave its seed to inherit the land. It was the crown of blessings in Bibical times; and it is the crown of blessing now. The greatest of all curses is the curse of sterility, and the severest of all condemnations should be visited upon wilful sterility. The first essential in any civilization is that the man and the woman shall be father and mother of healthy children so that the race shall

increase and not decrease." He praises the man who toils against forces which strive to pull him down. "It is not the critic who counts; not the man who points out how the strong man stumbles or when the doer of deeds could have done better. The credit belongs to the man who is actually in the arena, whose face is marred by dust, sweat, and blood; who strives valiantly; who errs and comes short again and again- because there is no effort without errors and shortcomings- but who does actually strive to do the deeds. Who knows the great enthusiasm, the great devotions; who spends himself in a worthy cause; who at the best, knows in the end the triumph of high achieving and who at the worst, if he fails, at least fails while daring greatly, so that his place shall never be with those cold and timid souls who know neither victory nor defeat." In the same speech he states his opinion on various subjects, such as the relation of labor and capital and the dangers of extreme socialism based on class war. This address had an influence upon French public opinion. One of the leading daily newspapers of Paris printed fifty seven thousand copies of this address and had them distributed to every school teacher in France. The Sorbonne address helped to destroy the power of the international socialists who were striving in the early days of the war in behalf of a

a peace between France and Germany. If France had given over t to the will of the international socialists she would have been lost. Thru his addresses, Roosevelt gave the people renewed energy and vigor. He stimulated better citizenship abroad as well as in his own beloved country.

PART III.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT'S THEORY AND PRACTICE FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF CIVIC EDUCATION.

CHAPTER I.

Objectives in Training for Citizenship.

The practical examples to be found in the lives of men who have shown themselves worthy of emulation, are the most potent factors in directing the educational work of the republic. Those who practice civic righteousness become the models for the study of better citizenship. Roosevelt comes well within this class. He was interested in the schools of the country and voiced himself thus: "The nation's most valuable asset is the children; for the children are the nation of the future. All people alive to the nation's need should join together to work for the moral, spiritual, and physical welfare of the children in all parts of the land."[1] Sincethe hope of a nation lies in the children the question arises, can Roosevelt's contribution to theory and practice of civic education be of use in the training of the youth to live the fullest and best life possible, both as an individual and as a worthy member of our American democracy.

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1. Georgia State Buildg. Jamestown Ex. June 10, 1907.

"The stability and future welfare of our institutions of government depend upon the grade of citizenship turned out from our public school."[1] The American school is concerned with the problem of socializing individuals in accordance with American ideals. Democracy can be made safe only by intelligent and moral citizenship; consequently the training for such citizenship is the most important work of the school. "Of course, in any of our American institutions of learning even more important than the production of scholarship is the production of citizenship. That is the most important thing that any institution of learning can produce."[2] Up to the time of the World War we often assummed that students would get citizenship incidentally as a part of the rest of their work. But now we realize more generally that every teacher should have before her certain objectives or goals that should guide her in educating the youth for a place in democracy. These objectives as worked out in Dr. Lange's seminar, fall under three main headings, namely, knowledge. feeling, conduct. Our problem, then, is to see if Roosevelt's contribution to the theory and practice can be of use in realizing the

Training in citizenship the most important work of the school.

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1. Address at Philadelphia, Pa. Nov, 22, 1902.
2. Leland Stanford, Jr. Univ. Palo Alto, Calif. May 12, 1903.

major objectives in training for citizenship.

The greatest service an individual can render in a democracy is to be an example in any position ranging from the humblest to that of the highest. The life a citizen leads is determined in a large measure by the conception or theory he has of citizenship. The primary inspiration of a pupil in becoming a worthy citizen is to have a hero for an example. The many-sided Roosevelt stirs up in youth a desire to emulate his patriotic motives. Roosevelt did not leave his theory in doubt but as we saw in Part I.he gave it to the world as a code of behavior and in Part II.that he practiced well his theory of citizenship.

An example.

Knowledge is power. To be a good citizen requires an enlightened mind particularly in regard to social affairs. "Education may not make a good citizen, but most certainly ignorance tends to prevent his being a good citizen."[1] In his theory of citizenship Roosevelt gives, in words suitable for the understanding of youth, full conceptions of the terms brotherhood, equality, freedom, and social justice.[2] These concepts may be used by teachers in connection with various subjects, especially history and civics.

Knowledge.

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1. Address at the University of Pa, Philadelphia, Pa. Feb.22, 05.
2. Refer to Part I.Theory of Citizenship,pp.1-8.

An understanding acquaintance with the creed of American democracy is the first step toward effective membership in American society. The meaning of government and the relation that exists between the government and the citizen enables the individual to enter upon his duties with foresight and well directed effort. In speaking of being familiar with the history of our country, Roosevelt says: "I wish that our people as a whole, and especially those among us who occupy high legislative or administrative positions would study the history of our nation not merely for the purpose of national self-gratification but with the desire to learn the lessons that history teaches us."[1] The teacher, in giving instruction with reference to the structure and function of American national government, can point to the life of Roosevelt as a man who was so interested in the promotion of government that he studied every field until he often knew more than those in charge of these special fields of the government.

The creed of American democracy.

The action of the individual in the group life is stresed in the words of the following quotations, "Fundamentally for weal or woe we are knit together; we shall go up or go down together, whenever a deed is done by an American which reflects

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1. At Annapolis, Maryland, April 24, 1906.

credit upon our country, each of us can walk with our heads a little higher in consequence, and whenever anything happens through the fault of any of us that is discreditable, it is discreditable of us more or less."[1]

Interdependence.

"Decade by decade, it becomes more and more necessary that, without sacrificing their independence individually, the people of this country shall recognize in more effective form their mutual interdependence and the duty of safe guarding the interests of each in the ultimate interest of all."[2]

"All of us here are knit together by bonds which we can not sever. For weal or for woe our fates are inextricably intermingled. All of us in our present civilization are dependent upon one another to a degree never before known in history of mankind and in the long run we are going to go up or down together."[3]

Continued progress in group life hinges upon the connection between the preceding and the succeeding activity of the past and present groups. In as much as we build upon the past it is necessary that the school open to the youth a correct view of the past and the present. To-day we are determining what shall exist in the future. This can be stated in Roosevelt's

1. At Danville, Va. Sept. 9, 1902.
2. At Jamestown Exposition, June 10, 1907.
3. At Topeka, Kansas, May 1, 1903.

utterances. "Any work done by any man must largely have its influence, not upon the life of that man but upon the lives of those coming after him.

"We who did not fight in the Civil War have reaped the unmeasurable benefit from the courage and self devotion of those who did fight. ..... So if we of this generation do our duty when face to face with our special problems, our children, and our children's children shall be better fit for it."[1]

Roosevelt furnishes a concrete example of constructive work which challenges the thought and ambition to aspire to even better things for future generations. Evidence is to be found in the acts passed during his administrattion , such as the creation of the Department of Commerce and Labor and the Bureau of Corporations; the law authorizing the building of the Panama Canal, the Pure Food and Meat Inspection laws; the law creating the Bureau of Immigration; the Employers Liability and Safety Appliances laws, that limited the working hours of employees; the law making the Government liable for injuries to its employees and the law forbidding child labor in the District of Columbia.

National consciousness.

Feeling as well as information is essential for correct

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1. At Oyster Bay, N. Y. July 4, 1906.

attitude. Civic intelligence unaccompanied by proper civic motives and ideals is dangerous. "If a man is not decent, is not square and honest, then the possession of ability only serves to render him more dangerous to his community."[1] Intelligent citizens are not always good citizens. "If an educated man is not heartily American in instinct and feeling and taste and sympathy, he will amount to nothing in our public life."[2] Youth is a plastic and formative age and the teacher has a very delicate as well as a very important problem before him in helping the youth to cultivate proper civic motives and ideals.

Feeling.

It is essential to develop the feeling of sociability, that is, not mere fondness for companionship but also fitness for companionship. It means a friendly relationship with fellows, a consideration of their welfare and a desire to cooperate with them for the common good." The teacher can get valuable material from Roosevelt, the great democratic instructor. He had much to say about genuine fellow-feelings, the understanding and sympathy of each for the other regardless of birthplace, religion or creed. He insisted that man know his neighbor regardless of rank or position. "In addition to mere obedience to the law each man to

Sociability.

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1. At Northfield, Mass. Sept. 1, 1902.
2. American Ideals, p. 45.

be a really good citizen must show broad sympathy for his neighbor and genuine desire to look at any question arising between them from the standpoint of the neighbor no less than from his own.[1] Roosevelt is an excellent example for those students who have a tendency to be snobbish. In him they have an illustration of a man who had everything to make a snob of him but who was broad minded and a democratic mixer with all fellows, making himself fit for companionship and for getting the most out of companionship with others.

He speaks directly and finally to those who feel that education somehow confers a special distinction which relieves them from doing their part in the community, or in the nation. He says: "Your education, your training, will not confer on you one privilege in the way of excusing you from effort or from work. All it can do and what it should do, is to make you a little better fitted for such effort, for such work; and I do not care whether that is in business, politics, in no matter what branch of endeavor, all it can do by the training you have received, by the advantages you have received, is to fit you to do a little better than the average man that you meet. It is incumbent upon you to show that the training has had that effect. It ought to enable ~~to enable~~ you to do a little better for

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1. Message to Congress, Dec. 5, 1905.

yourselves, and if you have in you souls capable of a thrill of generous emotion, souls capable of understanding what you owe to your training, to your alma mater, to the past and the present that have given you all that you have... if you have such souls it ought to make you doubly bent upon disinterested work for the State and the Nation."[1]

The learning of the importance of cooperation for the common good is beautifully illustrated by the life of Roosevelt.

Cooperation.

In him we find a man capable of originating an idea and setting up of ideals. He was able to use the cooperative aid of others for accomplishing ideals. In his addresses time and again he brings out the fact that in a government such as ours, work can be accomplished only by cooperation with followmen. "The only safe way of working is to try to find out some scheme by which it is possible to make a common effort for the common good."[2]

In American citizenship, we can succeed permanently only upon the basis of standing shoulder to shoulder, working in association, by organization, each working for all, and yet remembering that we need each so to shape things that each man can develop to best advantage all the forces and powers at his command."[3] "Man can not afford to lose his individual initiative,

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1. At Palo Alto, Calif. May 12, 1903.
2. At Bangor, Maine, August 27, 1902.
3. At Chattanooga, Tenn. Sept.8, 1902.

his individual will power: but he can best use that power if for certain objects he unites with his fellows."[1]

Unless the youth has faith in American democracy, especially with reference to the future he has a feeling of despair and distrust. Roosevelt himself possessed to such a great degree the confident hope in the nation's future that he felt that she must ever strive to fit himself for a great destiny. "I believe that every man who has the inestimable privilege of living here in our free land should feel in his soul, deep in the marrow of his being, that not only are we bound to act justly and honestly and honorably as a nation for our own sakes, not only are we bound so to act for the sake of the children who are to come after us, but we are also bound thus to act because all over the world the peoples are looking eagerly at this great experiment in popular government."[2] Again he says: "I believe in the future--not in a spirit which will set down and look for the future to work itself out--but with a determination to do its part in making the future what it can and should be made."[3] Such utterances help the youth to realize that democracy is not a

Faith in the creed of American democracy.

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1. At Sioux Falls, South Dakota, April 6, 1903.
2. Realizable Ideals, p. 123.
3. At Banquet of Spanish War Veterans, Detriot. Mich.Sept.22,02.

gift handed down from our fathers, nor a thing that exists at present, but rather a goal more or less remote, an ideal we are striving to realize. Roosevelt's teachings spurn the creed of failure and distrust. He shows the youth that the future is his if he but have the manhood to grasp it and by so doing awakes a masterful energy and resolution. Roosevelt challenges the young people of to-day to bear themselves so that the nation's future will ever surpass the glorious past.

Boys and girls readily develop the spirit of loyalty to their athletic teams and to their school but they need to enlarge that loyalty and extend it to the State and the Nation. Roosevelt especially exemplifies loyalty to the principle, all for each and each for all, not only in the school but in the state, in the nation at large. The following quotations may be of use to the youth in getting a clearer conception of what loyalty really means.

"The loyalty that counts is the loyalty which shows itself in deeds rather than in words."[1]

"Shame to our people if they ever come to pay loyalty to cast or class ahead of loyalty to good citizenship."[2]

"An American citizen's first loyalty is due to the

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1. At Banquet of the Society of Sons of American Revolution, Washington, D. C. May 2, 1902.
2. Realizable Ideals, p. 134.

nation and to his fellow citizens no matter what position they occupy as long as those fellow citizens are decent men."[1]

One way of cultivating patriotism in the present is by keeping alive the memory of what we owe to the patriotism of the past. All schools now have libraries and whether they are large or small, they are richer and render a more valuable service if they contain the works of Roosevelt. His works are patriotic, not partisan,; his speeches are those which embody a broad and full national spirit. His books give a fair and human presentation of all the interests and activities of society in such a way as to be attractive and instructive. In fact, his addresses and messages form a most important contribution to the history of his time, for they are the works and thoughts of a man who had the largest share in his day in directing the course and fortunes of his country. His works reveal the aims and the ideals of the average man and the average woman of his own generation. They give frank views on politics, citizenship, and organized social and economical life. These views are given with honesty and fearless truthfulness. Not only do they reveal the history of his time but also portray the activities of this country for more than a century. This makes his works of great value as references as they give the facts.

Patriotism.

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1. Realizable Ideals, p. 135.

His works have not only historic value, they are examples of literature also. While criticism can be made to some extent upon his unconventional phraseology, at the same time he adopted the method of the best contemporary English speakers, that of stating in a direct, conversational manner, certain things they wish to say. For the most part, his speeches and addresses were spontaneous utterances of a trained mind inspired by strong convictions, and full of historic knowledge and public experience. His sentences may not be well polished yet they are forceful in expressing deliberate and orderly thought.

True democracy requires that there be harmony between members of society. A sense of justice must exist before such a condition can be realized. The highest form of justice as Roosevelt sets forth, is where there is harmony of relationship, where each man gives the best that is in him and receives from his fellow men their best. "Mankind goes ahead but slowly, and it goes ahead mainly through each of trying to do the best that is in him and to do it in the sanest way."[1]

Justice.

"After all, we are one people, with the same fundamental characteristics, whether we live in the city or in the country, in the east or in the west, in the north or in the south. Each of us, unless he is contented to be a cumberer of the earth's

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1. At Symphony Hall, Boston, Aug.25, 1902.

surface, must strive to do his life work with his whole heart. Each must remember that while he will be noxious to every one unless he first does his duty by himself, he must also strive ever to do his duty by his fellows. The problem of how to do these duties is acute everywhere."[1]

The teacher has a wealth of illustrations in the life of Roosevelt. These show how he tried to bring about, to the best of his ability, a condition in which every man should receive a square deal. Along with the square deal is the obligation of responsibility. The sense of civic responsibility can not be over emphasized in our present life especially. The school affords ample opportunity to bring the youth face to face with the realization that it is highly necessary for him to assume a responsibility to society and to learn the limits of his own rightful actions, such as keeping up with his personal property in relation to other property and manifesting helpful care for the property of others. This action gives healthful civic community progress. "The upbuilding of any part of our country is a benefit to the whole."[1] What Roosevelt has to say concerning the power and responsibility of the average citizen can be used in helping to instill the idea of civic responsibility. His works are a splendid reference for debates on civic and political

Civic responsibility.

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1. At Bangor Maine, Aug. 27, 1902.

issues.

Individual character can never progress by the individual simply knowing and feeling what is good to do. A citizen must think, feel and act. As Roosevelt says: "The rules of good citizenship are tolerably simple. The trouble is not in finding them out; the trouble is living up to them after they have been found out."[1]

Conduct.

Courage is more easily developed in youth than self-control, but if youth is courageous and can not control himself he is a dangerous person. Self-control is an asset to be developed in each individual. Physical and mental control determine a person's chance of making a good or a bad citizen. Roosevelt very emphatically states that real liberty, freedom, and responsible self-government can come only to people who are capable of mastering themselves.[2] Again he says: "I want to see the average American a good man, an honest man, and a man who can handle himself, well under difficulties."[3]

Self-control.

In youth is the time to develop self-reliance. Children must be trained to have confidence in their ability to do. No one can make a success of life if he continually imitates another or leans upon the shoulders of his companions. Roosevelt is a concrete example

Self-reliance.

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1. At Charlestown Exposition, April, 1902.
2. Remarks at St.Patricks Church, Washington, D.C. Nov.20,1904.
3. Refer to PART I. p. 7.

of a man who depended upon his ability to act. He was so self-reliant that he even coined new words and phrases when he could not find those which exactly expressed his thought. He enriched the vocabulary with "square deal", "strenuous life", "big stick", "malefactors of great wealth", "hyphenated Americans", "undesirable citizens", "parlor socialist", and "rose-water reformers".

Tolerance.

Tolerance is essential in a democracy. Its chief demand is the understanding of other people and their opinions. Tolerance for others is especially necessary when all are putting forth efforts for the common good. "There should be no yielding to wrong; but there should most certainly be not only desire to do right, but a willingness each to try to understand the viewpoint of his fellow, with whom, for weal or for woe, his own fortunes are indissolubly bound"[1].

Adaptability.

It would be hard to find a more adaptable character than that of Roosevelt. He developed a great deal of his ideal of conduct by spending much of his time in the field and woods. He led the free life which is the heritage of every free American. The "many-sided Roosevelt" is an example of a man who was jack-of-all-trades and a

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1. Address to New York Chamber of Commerce of the State of New New York, November 11, 1902.

master of many. He made such a success of his life because he was able to adapt himself to each situation. He treated each new condition he met as if it furnished an opportunity to learn, and contribute the best possible thought toward making something good out of it. He did not think it best to discard a thing simply because it did not harmonize entirely with his ideas. In as much as others had to share it too they should have some share in saying what should be and he was willing to compromise by respecting their views to a liberal extent.

Where there is strong competition, such as we have in this country, there is need of initiative. This initiative must be developed in the child in early life so that it may become alert to the opportunities that offer promising fields of activity.

Initiative.

It is only by arousing and directing the powers of the child that the school can give it a chance to meet the conditions it will find after it leaves school. Roosevelt says; "The only way to get good service is to give somebody power to render it."[1] He means by this to give opportunity for the individual or group of individuals to use the power which they possess. He is a splendid example of a man who, through his initiative, sought an opportunity to use his power. It takes will power to succeed. Out of a weak child

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1. Autobiography, p.88.

he made a powerful man; out of half-blindness he made a boxer, a constant reader, a good shot; out of a liking for authorship rather than a talent for it, he made a voluminous writer. Out of a voice and manner never meant for oratory, he made a speaker; out of a sense of duty, he made a soldier; out of a soldier, a governor; out of a governor, a vice president, and out of a vice president, a President."[1]

Instruction in obtaining and maintaining good health is a vital part of civic education. Health promotes progress. Physical development must go hand in hand with mental development in order that we may have active men and women for the civic duties. The school must start with the child and build and fashion it for producing the necessary energy required for life's work.

Surplus energy.

The way in which Roosevelt developed himself physically in early life and in manhood, the attitude he took toward physical development as brought out in PART II. furnishes a most valuable and inspiring example of how surplus energy may be developed. His attitude toward play is very wholesome as it points out the aim and use of play. "Play while you play and work while you work; and though play is a mighty good thing remember that you had better never play at all than to get into a condition of mind where you regard play as the serious business of life or where you permit it to

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1. Cf. Street, J. "The most Interesting American.

hamper and interfere with your doing your full duty in the real work of the world."[1] A student should not get into the habit of hurrying through work that he might get at some favorite game for he will likely slight his work. Work like play is a means to an end and both have their place in the scheme of the day's program.

Roosevelt approved athletics because he believed they were a constructive force in building up a good citizen. "I believe in athletics; but I believe in them chiefly because of the moral qualities that they display."[2] He used his efforts to make football a test of alertness, skill and energy, not a display of brutal force. He considered the training the boys received in doing teamwork, in developing the power of self-control and the enjoyment received from the rush and tussle was an excellent method of preparing for the best conduct in life. Roosevelt would have the world remember this lesson which is to keep a sense of proportion. He considered sports properly managed a means for developing not only mind and body but as he has said so often what is infinitely more important- character.

We may sum up in general by saying the Roosevelt's theory and practice is worthy of a place in forming the character and

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1. At Harvard Union, Feb. 23, 1907.
2. At Commencement of Georgetown College, June 14, 1906.

life work of the pupil because he sets forth clearly the objectives of citizenship, namely: (a) knowledge, the understanding of American democracy in practice, the acquaintance with associated living and acquisition of the requisite mental attitude necessary for consciousness of a national action; (b) feeling, such as sociability, disposition to do teamwork for the common good, faith in the creed of American democracy especially with reference to the future, inclusive loyalty rooted in the principle— all for each,and each for all; sense of fair play and justice, sense of civic responsibility; (c) conduct, self-control, self-reliance, tolerance, adaptability, initiative, surplus energy for all.

CHAPTER II.

ROOSEVELT'S APPRECIATION OF THE SCHOOL AND ITS TEACHERS.

Teachers have the opportunity to develop a better standard of citizenship and a more thorough appreciation of the rights and duties on individuals and of the possibilities of the government. Roosevelt says: "There is no profession in this country quite as important as the profession of teacher, ranging from the college president right down to the lowest paid teacher in any one of our smallest country public schools. There is no other profession so important."[1] Again speaking in appreciation of the value of the teacher he says: "No body of public servants, no body of individuals associated in private life, are better worth the admiration and respect of all who value citizenship at its true worth, than the body composed of the teachers in the public schools throughout the length and

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1. Realizable Ideals, p. 56.

breadth of this nation. They have to deal with citizenship in the raw and turn it out something like a finished product."[1]

The teacher in the public school has the responsibility of training not only the intellect but also character. "You who are training the next generation are training this country as it is to be a decade or two hence; and while you work in training the intellect is great, it is not so great as your work in training character. More than anything else I want to see the public school turn out the boy and the girl, who when man and woman will add to the sum of good citizenshio of the nation."[2]

Training in character.

In every school of superior type it is the teacher who is the source of moral inspiration and guidance. No selection of studies, no system of organization, and no refinement of method, can have the same influence in training in character as the personal example of moral character of the teacher. "The training given in public schools must, of course, be not merely a training in intellect, but training in what counts for infinitely more than intellect, — a training in character. And the chief factor in that training must be the personal equation of the teacher; the influence exerted, sometimes consciously and sometimes unconsciously, by the man or woman who stands in so

1. Address at Philadelphia, Pa., Nov.22,1902.
2. Address to Members of the National Educational Association, Washington, D.C. Feb.26, 1908.

peculiar a relation to the boys and girls under his or her care- a relation closer, more intricate, and more vital in its after-effects than any other relation save that of parent and child. Wherever a burden of that kind is laid, those who carry it necessarily carry a great responsibility. There can be no greater."[1] Speaking directly to the teacher with regard to character he says: "Sometimes you can develop character by direct inculcation of moral precept; a great deal more often you cannot. You develop it less by precept than by your practice. Let it come as

The teacher. an incident of the association with you; as an incident to the general tone of the whole body, the tone which in the aggregate we all create. Is not that the experience of all of you, in dealing with these children in the school, in dealing with them in the family, in dealing with them in bodies anywhere? They are quick to take the tone of those to whom they look up, and if they do not look up to you then you can preach virtue all you wish, but the effect will be small."[2]

Roosevelt continually emphasized that any work worth doing should be approached in a spirit of sincere love for work,

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1. Address at Philadelphia, Pa., Nov. 22, 1902.
2. At High School, Philadelphia, Pa. Nov. 22, 1902.

and a desire to do it well for the work's sake. "Doubtless most of you remember the old distinction drawn between the two kinds of work, the work done for the sake of the fee and the work done for the sake of the work itself. The man or woman in public or private life who ever works only for the sake of the reward that comes outside of the work, will in the long run do poor work. The man or the woman who does work worth while is the man or woman who lives, breathes that work; with whom it is ever present in his or her soul; whose ambition is to do it well and to feel rewarded by the thought of having done it well. That man, that woman, puts the whole country under an obligation. As a body all those connected with the education of our people are entitled to the heartiest praise from all lovers of their country, because as a body they are devoting heart and soul to the welfare of those under them."[1]

His attitude toward work.

It is necessary for the teacher to understand that talking counts for little unless backed up by practice. Roosevelt expresses his opinion thus; "I do not believe in teaching what cannot be practiced."[2] "I would not have you preach an impossible ideal, for if you preach an ideal that is impossible you tend to make your pupils believe that no ideals are possible, and therefore

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1. Address at Philadelphia, Pa. Nov. 22,1902.
2. Address to the Religious Education Association, Wash.Feb.12,08.

you tend to do them the worst of wrongs to teach them to divorce preaching from practice, to divorce the ideal that they in the abstract admire from the practical good after which they strive."[1] Roosevelt insists that preaching does not count if it is not backed up by practice. He says: "Remember that the preaching does not count if it does not conform to practice. There is no good in your preaching to your boys to be brave, if you run away. There is no good in your preaching to them to tell the truth if you do not."[2] The teacher needs to guard against mere theorizing for "no matter how beautiful the theory is, if it won't fit in with facts it is of no good."[3] The teacher must be practical and teach the youth to be practical if their ability is to be of use in the work of the progress of their country. Roosevelt expresses it well when he says: "If a man is not practical, he is of no use anywhere."[4]

Preaching versus practice.

He believed a readjustment of values was needed in the country and that the readjustment could be brought about mainly thru the teachers in our public schools. He speaks directly to the teacher when he says: "Teach the boy and girl to work; teach them that their proper duty is in the home; their duty to one

1. Address to the National Educational Association, Wash. Feb. 26, 08.
2. Address at Philadelphia, Pa, Nov. 22, 1902.
3. Address at Oyster Bay, N. Y. Aug. 16, 1903.
4. At Portland, Maine, Aug, 26, 1902.

another and toward their neighbors. Then teach them more; teach them to build upon this foundation the superstructure of the higher life. I want to see our education directed more and more toward the training of boys and girls back to the farm and shop, so that they will be first rate farmers, first rate mechanics, fit to work with the hands and realizing that work with the hands is just as honorable as work with the head. In addition, I want to see a training that will make every boy, every girl leaving the public schools, leaving the schools of the nation, feel impelled so to carry himself or herself that the net result, when his or her life shall have been lived, shall be an addition to the sum total of decent living and achievment for t the nation, and have them understand that they are never going to amount to much in the big things if they don't first amount to something in the little things. The effort should be made to teach every one that the first requisite of good citizenship is doing the duties that are near at hand. But of course this does not excuse a man from doing the other duties too. ..... He ought to add decency in home life, decency in politics, decency in public life. .....

"Our children should be trained to do the homely duties in the first place, and then in addition to have it in them so to carry themselves that collectively we may well and fitly perform the great and responsible tasks of American citizenship"

1. Address to National Educational Assn, Washington, Feb.26,1908.

Roosevelt had no sympathy with the attitude that some teachers take of play. What he desired was to have children given opportunity to enjoy play and work happily and cheerfully. But they can not do so if they are obliged to play as their elders think they should play. He did not believe that teachers should insist that the child play in such a way as to train the "child mind". The child must enjoy as well as play.

His view of play. Nor did he approve of teachers insisting that book learning run thru all hours of the day. Lessons as lessons are to the average student a task. The teacher who is constantly requiring stud nts to carry home piles of books in order to keep up with the class work is doing a wrong to the them and to the nation because the students will not have time for honest, robust play, the kind which fits them for their life work, Recreation has its place in the day's program. If the child is so crowded with work that he is compelled to pour over the printed page both in school and out of school in order to fulfil the requirements of the teacher who is pushing him along in the mad rush for education he can not help but develop into a one-sided person. A neglect of the physical self makes youth develop into a person unable to bear his own weight. The mind grows sick in a sick body. Both should be kept healthy by taking care of both.

No school can really be a school without proper playground. It is a necessary part of every school. The more playgrounds we have and the more they are properly used means more healthy citizens. Good health is the first consideration for preparing the child for efficient work.

Value of playgrounds.

"It is a poor type of school nowdays that has not a good playground attached. ..... I think we realize what a good healthy playground means to children. I think we understand not only the effects for good upon their bodies, but for good upon their minds. We need healthy bodies. We need to have schools properly physically developed."[1] He would have teachers come into actual contact with life and if they are so in love with their work that it becomes the one and only thought they are committing a great crime by driving the undeveloped child into mental work beyond his years. He urged flexibility and serenity of mind on the part of the teacher for it has much to do with the real progress of the pupil.

Roosevelt urged the living of a strenuous life. By that he meant a life of work, or life of effort for worthy causes. What he has to say concerning going after things that are worth while in life instead of pursuing trifles is applicable to teachers and

The strenuous life.

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1. Address at High School, Philadelphia, Pa. Nov.22,1902.

students alike. Strenuous life does not mean nervous hurrying about but rather a life of vigor. The teachers has the opportunity to help the youth develop habits which will relieve him of much responsibility in accomplishing tasks. Habit plays such an important part in our lives and especially in the period of youth that we can not neglect them. If the youth can train habits to become servants to him he will not lose so much valuable time in thinking what to do next. The strenuous life is a great factor in accomplishing this. Roosevelt is a good example of a man who made habit his servant. He learned this secret of effectiveness, and this was why he could accomplish so much without nervous strain. If the teacher helps the youth to develop, like Roosevelt, the power of habit and the determination to accomplish something, to turn out a great deal of good work, she has rendered an invaluable service to the youth and the nation. Since leading a stremuous life means devoting self to some work that is interesting and worth while, the teacher has a very large opportunity to accomplish great good in devoting himself or herself to training children physically, intellectually and morally.

CHAPTER III.

ROOSEVELT'S CONTRIBUTION TO TEACHERS AND PUPILS AS QUOTED FROM HIS WORKS.

The problem of having to keep interest alive on the part of the learner is hard to solve. Interest is recognized more and more as the guiding, forceful power that keeps alive a desire to know more of the things which contribute to the possibilities of rising to higher levels. The inspiration of the past and present prompt human action to acquire preparation of real service to their fellow men. Professor Horne put it thus: Interest is one of the great words in education, because it removes drudgery from the school, puts the motive power of the feelings at the disposition of the teacher, and is the immediate of all education."[1] Since interest is of so much importance, the question arises, how can it be gotten? One way is by coming in touch with the living forces of men and women who have achieved great success and serve as models. Such men in our country's history

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1. Horne, H. H. Psychological Principles of Education, p.191.

help the youth to see the remote goal. The youth as well as elders honor the statesmen of the past and strive to live over again their virtues. The memory of great men tends to serve as a spur to the youth of to-day to act as well as did the men of yesterday. Therefore it is fitting to have a classified list of quotations which may be used by the teacher in training the youth for his place in democracy, and at the same time be interesting and pleasing to the pupil. Roosevelt's works furnish a splendid source for such quotations. These will be classified under the headings: Character, Moral qualities, Self-reliance, Good qualities, Right, Cooperation, Courage, Justice, Americanism, Initiative. Honesty, Service, Equality, Ideals, Responsibility, Work, Education, and Books.

List of Quotations.

Character.

In the long run the one vital factor in the permanent prosperity of the country is the high individual character of the average American worker, the average American citizen.

(Message to first Session Fifty-ninth Congress, Dec.5,1905)

Materially we must strive to secure a broader economic opportunity for all men, so that each shall have a better chance to show the stuff of which he is made. Spiritually and ethically we must strive to bring about class living and right thinking. We appreciate the things of the body as important but we appreciate

also that the things of the soul are immeasurably, and ever must be, the more important. The foundation stone of national life is and ever will be, the high individual character of the average citizen.

(Laying of Corner stone Office Building of House of Representatives, April 24, 1906).

Athletics are good; study is even better, and best of all is the development of the type of character for the lack of which, in an individual as in a nation no amount of brilliancy of mind or strength of body will atone.

(At Harvard Union, Feb.23, 1907).

A vote is like a rifle; its usefulness depends upon the character of the user.

(Autobiography).

When it comes to rendering service, that which counts chiefly is not intellect so mush as stands above mere power of body, or mere power of mind, but must in a sense include them, and that is character.

(At New York at Banquet, 1902).

All public achievement rests upon private character; the state can not go onward and upward, the nation can not make progress, unless the average individual is of the right type.

(Realizable Ideals, p. 38).

Each talent- the talent for making money, the talent for showing intellect at the bar, or in any other way, if unaccompanied by character, makes the possessor a menace to the community. (Roosevelt Doctrine, p.14).

Moral Quality.

It is man's moral quality, his attitude toward the great questions which concern all humanity, his clearness of life, his power to do his duty toward himself and toward others, which really counts. (Message to Congress, Dec. 5,1905).

The man is no true democrat, and no American is worthy of the tradition of his country who, in the problems calling for the exercise of a moral judgment, fails to take his stand on conduct and not on class. (Autobiography,p.518).

The man who counts is the man who is decent and who makes himself felt as a force for decency, for cleanliness, for civic righteousness. (At N.Y. At Banquet, 1902).

With righteousness must go strength to make that righteousness of avail. (At Banquet of Sons of Amer. Rev.Mayml902).

Every earnest and zealous believer, every man and woman who is a doer of the word and not a hearer only, is a life long missionary in his or her field of labor- a missionary by precept

and, by what counts a thousand fold more than precept, by practice.
(At Banquet of Society of Sons of Amer.Rev. May,1902).

What we need most in this Republic is not special genius, not unusual brilliancy, but honest and upright adherence on the part of the mass of the citizens and of their representatives to the fundamental laws of private and public morality--which are now what they have been during recorded history.
(Banquet Society of Sons of Amer. Rev.Wash.D.C.May 2,1902).

No educated man can afford to be ignorant of the Bible and no uneducated man can afford to be ignorant of the Bible.
(Realizable Ideals,p. 69).

Our success in striving to help our fellowmen, and therefore to help ourselves, depends largely upon our success as we strive, with whatever shortcomings, with whatever failings, to lead our lives in accordance with the great ethical principles laid down in the life of Christ, and in the New Testament writings which seek to expound and apply his teachings.
(Realizable Ideals,p. 89).

Intelligence and ability divorced from the moral instinct make the man an infinitely dangerous wild beast whom it is our business to hunt out of political life, and, so far as we can, out of business life of a community. (Realizable Ideals).

No one sided development can produce really good citizenship as good citizenship is needed in America to-day. If a man has not in him the root of righteousness- if he does not believe in the practice of honesty, if he is not truthful and upright, clean, rightminded, fair in his dealings at home and abroad- then the stronger he is, the abler and more energetic he is, the more dangerous he is to the body politic.
(At Northfield, Mass. Sept.1,1902).

All our extraordinary material development, our wonderful industrial growth will go for nothing unless with that growth goes hand in hand the moral, the spiritual growth that will enable us to use aright the other as an instrument.
(Realizable Ideals,p.1).

Normally we must be content if each of us can do something- not all that we wish, but something- for the advancement of those principles of righteousness which underlie all real national greatness, all true civilization and freedom. (Roosevelt Doctrine).

In the unending strife for civic betterment, small is the use of these people who mean well, but who mean well feebly. The man who counts is the man who is decent and who makes himself felt as a force for democracy, decency and for cleanliness, for civic righteousness. He must have several qualities; first and foremost, of course, he must be honest, he must have the root

of right thinking in him. That is not enuff. In the next place he must have courage. ..... and finally, in addition to being honest and brave he must have common-sense.

(Banquet to Dr. Nicholas Murry Butler, Apr.19,1902).

Self-reliance.

If an American is to amount to anything he must rely upon himself, and not upon the State. He must take pride in his own work, instead of sitting idle to enjoy the energy of others, he must face life with resolute courage, win victory if he can, and accept defeat if he must without seeking to place on his fellow-men the responsibility which is not theirs.

All the laws that the act of man can devise will never make a man a worthy citizen unless he has within himself the right stuff, unless he has self-reliance, energy, courage, the power of insisting on his own rights and the sympathy that makes him regardful of the rights of others. (Autobiography, p.30).

Good Qualities.

Nine-tenths of wisdom is to be wise in time and at the right time. (Autobiography, p.548).

Doing duty well is what counts. The man who does not care

to do any act until the time for heroic action comes does not do the heroic act when the time does come.
(Banquet Society Sone of Amer Rev.May, 1902).

If you meet duty well you face the next duty a stronger man, and if you meet it ill you face your next duty a weaker man.
(Harvard Commencement Dinner, June 25, 1902).

With both men and women the prime necessity to remember is that simple duties are the most important.
(Realizable Ideals, p.44).

Let us remember that our success in accomplishing anything depends very much upon our not trying to accomplish everything.
(Roosevelt Doctrine,p.17).

The worth of a promise consists purely in the way in which the performance squares with it.
(Symphony Hall, Boston, Aug.25,1902).

Remember it is the sensible thing to speak courteously of others. (At Waukesha, Wis. April 3,1903)

Right.

What we need as a nation is to stand by the eternal, immutable principles of right and decency, the principle of fair dealing as between man and man, the principles that teach us to regard justice and virtue with respect and vice with abhorrence whenever either virtue or vice may be found.
(At City Park, Little Rock, Ark,Oct.25,1905).

Good can often be done by criticising sharply and severely the wrong; but excessive indulgence in criticism is never anything but bad, and no amount of criticism can in any way take the place of active and zealous warfare for the right.
(College Graduate and Public Life)

We ought to admire intelligence and ability; but only when intelligence and ability are controlled and guided by the will to do right. (Realizable Ideals, p. 108)

If we are to advance in broad humanity, in kindness, in spirit of brotherhood, exactly as we advance in our conquest over the hidden forces of nature, it must be by developing strength in virtue and virtue in strength, by breeding and training men who shall be both good and strong, both gentle and violent— men who scorn wrong-doing and who at the same time have both the courage and strength to strive mightily for the right.
(At Carnegie Hall, Feb.26,1903).

There is no experience, no evil, that out of it good cannot come, if only we look at it right.
(Omaha, Neb. April 27, 1903).

Co-operation.

But more than all else we need that the average man shall have in him the root of righteousness of living; that the average man shall have in him the feeling that will make him ashamed

to do wrong, and that will make him feel his boundless duty to help those that are weaker, to help those especially that are in any way dependent upom him, and while not in any way losing his powers of individual initiative, to cultivate the further power of achieving in combination with his fellows for the common end of social uplifting and good governement.
(Address in New York City, Feb.14,1905).

We of the United States must develop an educational system under which each individual citizen shall trained so as to be effective individually as an economic unit and fit to be organized with his fellows so that he and they can work in efficient fashion together. This question is vital to our future progress, and public attention should be focused upon it.
(Address at Lansing, Mich. May 31, 1907).

In handling problems much can be done by government. When government has done all it can there will remain as the vital of all factors the individual character of the average man and average woman. No governmental action can more than supplement individual action. There must be collective action of kinds distinct from governmental action.
(Autobiography, p.175)

Thoroughly good national work can be done only if each of us works hard for himself, and at the same time keep constantly in mind that he must work in conjunction with others.
(At Charlestown Exposition, April 1902).

We live in an era when the best results can only be achieved, if to individual self-help we add mutual self-help which comes by combination, both of citizens in their individual capacities and of citizens working through the State as an investment. (At Bangor, Maine, Aug.27, 1902).

Courage.

A man to be a good American must be straight and he must also be strong. He must have in him the conscience which will teach him to see the right and he must also have vigor, the courage, and the practical hard-headed common sense which enable him to make his seeing right result in benefit to his fellows. (At Northfield, Mass. Sept.1, 1902).

There are many qualities which we need alike in the private citizen and in the public man, but three above all,-- three for each of which no brilliancy and no genius can atone,-- and those three are courage, honesty, and common sense. (At Antietam, Sept.17, 1903).

In our modern life we have found it absolutely indispensible to supplement the worth of the individual by the worth of individuals gathered into an association. Without the work of the association you can not give the highest expression to individual endeavor. (At Opening Session of Military Surgeons Association, June 5, 1902).

Justice

We must be genuine, we must help our poorer brother and the first

step toward securing justice is to treat every man on his worth as a man, showing no special favors, but so far as may be holding open for him the door of opportunity so that reward may wait upon honest and intelligent endeavor.
(Address at Univ. of Pa. Feb. 22, 1905).

Our aim must be to deal justice to each man; no more and no less. This purpose must find its expression and support not merely in our collective action thru the agencies of the government, but in our social attitude rich man and poor man alike must feel that on one hand they are protected by law and on the other hand they are responsible to the law; for each is entitled to be fairly dealt with by his neighbor and by the State; and if we as citizens of this nation are true to ourselves and to the traditions of our forefathers such fair measure of justice shall always be dealt to each man; so that as far as we can bring it about each shall receive his dues, each shall be given the chance to show the stuff that is in him, shall be secured against wrong, and in turn prevented from wronging others. More than that no man is entitled to and less than this no man shall receive.
(Richmond, Va. Oct.18, 1905).

Our aim should be to strive to keep the reign of justice alive in the country so that we shall above all things avoid the chances of ever dividing on the lines that separate one class from another, one occupation from another.
(At Charlotte, N. C. Oct.19, 1905.

Americanism.

Americanism is not a matter of birthplace, of ancestry, of creed, of occupation, Americanism is a matter of the spirit that is within a man's soul.
(Address in New York City, Feb.14,1905).

We are Americans, and that means that we treat Americanism primarily as a matter of spirit and purpose, and in the broadest sense we regard every man as a good American, whatever his creed, whatever his birthplace if he is true to the ideals of this Republic.
(At Banquet of Society of Sons of Amer. Rev.May,1902).

When I speak of Americanism I do not mean to say that all the things we do are all right. I think there are plenty of evils to correct and that often a man shows himself all the more a good American because he wants to cut out any evil in the body politic which may interfere with our approaching the ideal of true Americanism. (At Augusta, Maine, Aug.26, 1902).

Americanism is not a matter of creed, or birthplace or descent. That man is the best American who has in him the American spirit, the American soul. Such a man fears not the strong and harms not the weak. He scorns what is base or cruel or dishonest. He looks beyond the accidents of occupation or social conditions and hails each of his fellow-citizens as his brother asking nothing save that each shall treat the other on his worth as a man, and that they shall all join together to do what

in them lies for the uplifting of this mighty and vigorous people. (Address before the Friendly Sons of St.Patrick, N.Y. City, March 17, 1905).

Initiative.

Do not make the mistake of thinking that it is possible ever to call in any outside force to take the place of the man's own individual initiative, the man's individual capacity for doing what is worth doing. (At Dayton, Mass. Sept.3, 1902).

It is a good thing to act in combination for the common good but it is a very unhealthy thing to let ourselves think for one moment that anything can ever supply the want of our own individual watchfulness and exertion. (At Logansport, Ind. Sept.23,1903).

No action by the State can do more than supplement the initiative of the individual and ordinarily the action of the State can do no more than to secure to each individual the chance to show under a favorable condition as possible the stuff that is in him. (Roosevelt Doctrine, p. 18).

Honesty.

On the behalf of our people, on behalf no less of the honest man of means than to the honest man who earns each day's livelihood by the sweat of his brow, it is necessary to insist upon honesty in business and politics alike, in all walks of life,

in big things and in little things; upon just and fair dealing as between man and man. (Autobiography, p.500).

To all good citizens I make the appeal to stand for honesty in public life and to stand for the creator of an opinion which shall demand decency in the press and magazines.
(Realizable Ideals, p.153)

One feature of honesty and common sense combined is never to promise what you do not think you can perform. and then never to fail to perform what you have promised and that appiles to public life just as much as in private life.
(At Fitchburg, Mass. Sept.2, 1902).

The first need of any nation is intelligent and honest citizens. (At Palo Alto, May 12, 1903).

You must demand honesty or you are not men and you must do honesty or you are not decent men.
(Realizable Ideals, p. 113).

Woe to us as a nation if we do not have the honesty, the uprightness, the desire to treat with wise and generous and considerate justice. (Realizable Ideals, p. 121).

We shall never come near realizing the very realizable ideal of honesty in business and public life until we make it evident that the scoundrel whom we hate most is not the scoundrel who fails but the scoundrel who succeeds.
(Realizable Ideals, pp. 26-7).

Service.

The first indispensible prerequisite to bettering your fellows is to better those that are nearest to in every day life.
(At Commencement Ex.of Harvard Univ.,1906).

Do your duty to your neighbor; try to serve him in body, try to help him in body, try to help him in soul; and you will thereby help your own soul far more effectively than if you spend your time in morbid self-searching about merely your own soul. Practice steadily the doctrine of useful service for others and above all for those nearest you.
(At Commencement of the National Cathedral School)
Wash. D.C. June 6, 1906.

What everyour work is do it well; and then by degrees without hunting for them, the chances will of themselves arise for each of you to do for more than common place duties, to do the kind of work which our educated men in the Republic must do if the Republic is to rise level to the standards set for it by its fathers and founders.
(At the Commencement of Georgetown College,June 14,1906)

I would tell every young man that it is his first duty to pull his own weight; to take care of himself and take care of those dependent upon him. He cannot do anything for others until he has first made it certain that he will not be a burden to others. I want to see a man able to earn his own livelihood.

I want to see the woman able to do her part as a housewife and mother. But all my plea is that the man shall not be content with merely that; the man shall realize that after a certain point has been reached the increment of his fortune, the increment of his material well being amounts to but very little compared to the results of effort spent in other directions.
(Address to the Religious Education Association. Washington, D.C. Feb. 12, 1908).

Not one in a hundred of us is fit to be in the highest sense a productive scholar, but all of us are entirely fit to do decent service if we are to take the pains.
(New York Banquet, Columbia Univ., 1902)

What is necessary is to tell boys that their first duty is to earn their own livelihood, to support themselves and those dependent upon them, but when that first duty has been performed there yet remains a very large additional duty, in the way of service to their neighbors, of service to the rest of mankind.
(Realizable Ideals, p.7).

Equality.

This government was formed with its basic idea the principle of treating each man on his worth as a man, of paying no heed to whether he was rich or poor, no heed to his creed or his social standing, but only to the way in which he performed his duty to himself, to his neighbor, to the state. From this principle

we can not afford to vary by so much as a hand's breadth.
(Richmond, Va. Oct. 18, 1905).

Ideals.

Have a high ideal and try to realize it, measurably within your powers, as, unmeasurably and with tremendous power, Abraham Lincoln and George Washington strove to realize their ideals. Have high ideals , and then try to realize them practical shape. (Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. June 22,1905).

I believe in realizable ideals and in realizing them, in preaching what can be practiced and then in practicing it.
(Autobiography, p.187).

I preach as an ideal neither to truckle to nor hate the man of mere wealth, because if you do either you admit your inferiority in reference to him; and if you admit you are inferior as compared to him you are no good American, you have no place in this Republic. (Realizable Ideals, p. 21).

One great realizable ideal for our people is to discourage mere law honesty. It is necessary to have good laws and to have them well inforced. But the best laws and the most rigid enforcement will not by themselves produce a really healthy type of morals in the community. In addition to the law and the enforcement we must have public opinion which frowns on the man who violates the

spirit of the law even although he keeps just within the letter.
(Realizable Ideals, pp. 24-5).

No nation ever amounted to anything if it did not have within it's soul the power of fealty to lofty ideals.
(Realizable Ideals, p. 32).

No ideal can be right in this world if it is not fitted to be used in this world.
(Realizable Ideals, p. 36).

Responsibility.

If you neglect to prepare yourselves now for the duties and responsibilities which will fall upon you later, if you do not learn the things which you will need to know when your school-days are over, you will suffer the consequences.
(To school children of the United States, Apr.15,1907).

With every right there must always go hand in hand a duty, and no man, and no nation, can permanently enjoy the right if he or it shirks the duty. With every privilege there must go the responsibility of exercising the privilege aright.
(Quoted from Keynote of Theodore Roosevelt, Gilman, R. of R. 46303: 3-8, 1912).

The man who does best in this world, the woman who does best, almost inevitably does it because he or she carries some burden. Life is constituted that the man or the woman who has not some responsibility is thereby deprived of the deepest happiness that can come to mankind, because each and every one of

us, if he or she is fit to live in the world must be conscious that responsibility always rests on him or on her.
(At Mount St. Alban, Washington, D.C. Oct.25,1903).

Remember you, the people of this government by the people, that while the public servant, the legislator, the executive officer, the judge, are not to be excused if they fall short of their duty, yet that doing their duty can not avail unless you do yours.
(At Presbyterian Church, Wash. D. C., Nov.16, 1903).

Work.

The life that is worth living, the only life that is worth living, is the life of effort, the life of effort to attain what is worth striving for.
(Address at Prize-day Ex.at Groton School, Mass. March 24, 1904).

A man to amount to anything, must be practical. He must actually do things, not talk about doing them, least of all cavil at how they are accomplished by those who actually go down into the arena and actually face the dust, and the blood and the sweat; who actually triumphed in the struggle. The man must have the force, the power, the will to accomplish results, but he must have the lift toward lofty things which shall make him incapable of striving for aught unless that for which he strives is something honorable and high, something worth striving for.
(Address at Gettysburg, Pa.: May 30, 1904).

The vital things in life are the things that foolish people look upon as common place. The vital deeds of life are those things which lies within the reach of all of us to do and the failure to perform which means the destruction of the State.
(At Montgomery, Ala. Oct. 24, 1905).

The citizen that counts, the man that counts in our life, is the man who endeavors not to shirk difficulties but to meet and overcome them, is the man who endeavors not to lead his life in the world's soft places, not to walk easily and take his comfort, but the man who goes out to tread the rugged ways that lead to honor and to success, the ways the treading of which means good work worthily done. .....

We can all be good citizens. We can all lead a life of action, a life of endeavor, a life that is to be judged primarily by the effort, somewhat by the result along the lines of helping the growth of what is right and decent and generous and lofty in our several communities, in the State in the Nation.
(At Leland Stanford Junior Univ.Palo Alto,Cal.May 12,1903).

The man who attempts much must make up his mind that there will now and then come days and nights of worry; there will come even moments of seeming defeat. But out of difficulties we wrest success.
(At Augusta, Maine, Aug. 26, 1902.

Education.

Facts tend to become common place, and we tend to lose sight of their importance when once they are ingrained into the life of the nation. Although we talk a good deal about the wide-spread education of this country, I question if many of us deeply consider its meaning. From the lowest grade of the public school to the highest form of university training, education in this country is at the disposal of every man, every woman, who chooses to work for and obtain it. ..... Each one of us who has obtained an education has obtained something for which he or she has not personally paid. ..... Each one of us then who has an education, school or college, has obtained something from the community at large for which he or she has not paid, and no self-respecting man or woman is content to rest permanently under such an obligation. Where the State has bestowed education the man who accepts it must be content to accept it merely as a charity unless he returns it to the State in full, in the shape of good citizenship.

(At University of California, May 14, 1903).

Those among you whose bent is toward scholarship as a career should keep in mind the fact that such scholarship should be productive, and therefore should aim at giving to the world's

stock of what is useful or beautiful, and if you work simply and naturally, taking advantage of your surroundings as you find them, then in my belief a new mark will be made in the history of intellectual achievement by our race.

(At Palo Alto, May 12, 1903.

Most emphatically I say that education is not the turning out of people who can read, write and cipher, yet do nothing practical. Some of the best educated people I know- using the word with reference to the work they have to do- read but little and write not any too well but they can do their work right up to the handle. If I were asked, on the other hand, to pick out the uneducated men of the community, I should include a great many, white as well as colored, who have learned to read and write, and have thought that that fact excused them from learning how to earn their own livelihood and become good citizens.

You girls, if you don't learn to become good housewives and, if you marry, to be good helpmates to your husbands, good mothers to your children, then you are not well educated, no matter what else you know.

You men, if you learn all that any institution can teach you of books and yet are not able to turn your hands to usefulness, to earn your own livelihood you are not well educated, no

matter how many academic prizes you take.
(At Hampton Normal and Agricultural Inst., Hampton, Va. May 30, 1906).

Education is good chiefly according to the use you put it to. If it teaches you to be so puffed with pride as to make you nderestimate the relative values of things, it becomes a harm and not a benefit.

The country has a right to demand the honest and efficient service of every man in it, but especially of every man who has had the advantage of right mental and moral training.
(College Graduate and Public Life).

When you come into science, art, and literature remember that one first-class bit of work is better than one thousand pretty good bits of work, that as the years roll on the man or woman who has been able to make a master piece with the pen, the brush, the pencil, in any way, has rendered a service to the country such as not all of his or her compeers who merely do fairly good second-rate work can ever accomplish. Only a limited number of us can ever become scholars or work successfully along the lines I have spoken of, but we can all be good citizens.
(At Leland Stanford Junion, Univ. Palo Alto, Calif. May 12, 1903).

Books.

Books are almost as individuals as friends.
(Autobiography, p. 359).

Any reader ought to cultivate his or her taste so that good books will appeal to it, and that trash won't.
(Autobiography, p. 360).

The statesman, and the publicist, and the reformer, and the agitator for new things, and the upholder of what is good in old things, all need more than any thing else to know human nature, to know the needs of the human soul, and they will find this nature and these needs set forth as no where else by the great imaginative writers whether of prose or poetry.
(Autobiography, p. 361).

There are tens of thousands of interesting books, and some of them are sealed to some men and some are sealed to others and some stir the soul at some given point in a man's life and yet convey no message at other times.
(Autobiography, p. 363).

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